

Book Reviews

Native Southerners: Indigenous History from Origins to Removal. By Gregory D. Smithers. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019. Pp. x, 259. Paper, \$29.95, ISBN 978-0-8061-6228-7.)

Gregory D. Smithers attempts to do what most historians would consider impossible: write the history of a vast region, home to numerous and diverse Native communities; cover a broad sweep of time, from Indigenous origins to the 1830s; incorporate Native voices and perspectives, not as relics of the past, but as living stories that give the region a deeper meaning; and do so in less than two hundred pages of text. One would have to go back to at least the publication of J. Leitch Wright's *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South* (New York, 1981) to find a similar undertaking, but Wright focuses mostly on the period before the American Revolution. One would really have to go back to R. S. Cotterill's *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes before Removal* (Norman, Okla., 1954). But these books cannot compare with what Smithers has managed to accomplish.

Smithers skillfully utilizes an immense library of books and articles that have been produced over the past few decades. Archaeologists, historians, and anthropologists, often with a spirit of mutual interest and collaboration, have investigated a seemingly exponential number of new questions and topics. Scholars now know more about the nature of the chiefdom societies that dominated the South before Europeans arrived: we appreciate how they had history before that arrival; how they crafted stories and practices to sustain themselves in a changing environment; and how they went through cycles of growing, devolving, and rebuilding. Historians now understand more fully the shattering impact that the arrival of Europeans had as slave raids and epidemics remade the social landscape. We understand the various conflicts between Natives and newcomers as more complex than simple explanations revolving around cultural clashes.

Smithers teaches his readers all of the above while moving them steadily and quickly ahead in time. Scholars view Native polities of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as complicated and diverse, from *petite nations* of a few hundred people to larger coalescent societies built on regional clusters, moieties, towns, and clans. We know the Native Southeast was composed not only of the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles but also of Catawbas, Yuchis, Occaneechis, Lumbees, Saponis, Natchez, Houmas, Caddos, and others. All of these were actors in creating new worlds of exchange and diplomacy that characterized the region. Historians now more fully appreciate that, no matter how entangled European empires and Native polities became, the Southeast was Native ground in which the claims of Britain, France, or Spain remained contested and stunted. We also appreciate how devastating the American Revolution was and how extensively the logic of settler colonialism pervaded the early American republic. Settler colonialism democratized white populations but marked Indigenous peoples for

elimination. But historians also know that diasporic Indigenous peoples rebuilt their lives in Indian Territory, while Native communities remained in southern states and continue to this day to fight for recognition and sovereignty. The history of the Native South, as Smithers demonstrates, did not end with the Trail of Tears.

One hopes the story that Smithers sketches sounds familiar to historians of the South. If it does not, such historians should pick up a copy of *Native Southerners: Indigenous History from Origins to Removal*, read it, and revise their lectures accordingly. Even if this narrative sounds familiar, southern historians now have a go-to survey, which is accessible to nonspecialists, students, and a general reading audience.

Stony Brook University

PAUL KELTON

The Secret Token: Myth, Obsession, and the Search for the Lost Colony of Roanoke. By Andrew Lawler. (New York: Doubleday, 2018. Pp. xx, 426. \$29.95, ISBN 978-0-385-54201-2.)

The secret token mentioned in the title to Andrew Lawler's new book is the three letters, *CRO*, that governor of the Roanoke colony and artist John White found carved into a post upon his return to Roanoke Island in 1590 after an absence of three years. Despite having a strong hunch as to the location of the 117 English settlers he left behind, White never found the so-called Lost Colonists. Lawler is the most recent of a number of writers who have continued the search. Where did the colonists go? What happened to them, and why? And what does our continued fascination with this story say about us?

Lawler has done his homework. In the book's opening section, he tells the story of English efforts to establish an outpost on North American shores. Though there is nothing in this account that will surprise those familiar with the history of Roanoke, Lawler is a gifted writer, and he provides a familiar story well told. *The Secret Token: Myth, Obsession, and the Search for the Lost Colony of Roanoke* moves along briskly. It is an easy and accessible read.

Lawler began this project at a time when a number of new discoveries offered tantalizing but incomplete clues as to the Lost Colonists' fate. In the second section of the book, Lawler explores the scholarly efforts to locate the outposts planted by the English in 1585 and 1587. He discusses the work of archaeologists Jean "Pinky" Harrington and Ivor Noël Hume. Lawler's interviews with historians and others investigating Roanoke are the book's most interesting contributions, providing valuable insights into how historians and archaeologists frame questions, conduct research, and, in some cases, allow their desires and prejudices to cause them to see things that are not there.

In the book's final section, Lawler assesses several explanations for the colonists' fate. Following in the footsteps of David La Vere, he discusses the history of the infamous Dare Stones found scattered throughout the South from North Carolina to Georgia in the 1930s. He searches for the elusive Simão Fernandes and looks at the history of the Lumbees and the Roanoke-Hatteras Native American community. He discusses the patch on John White's 1587 map, under which a fort symbol was found, and the recent archaeological work by the First Colony Foundation at Site X, near the head of Albemarle Sound,

where the fort symbol indicated. Throughout, Lawler examines myths about Roanoke so powerful that they “cast spells that cannot be broken by facts” (p. 7). His conclusions are reasonable but predictable: the first Dare Stone may be authentic; the Site X investigation is promising; and the colonists, if they survived, likely assimilated into Native American communities.

Lawler often becomes so enamored with the colorful characters in the Roanoke drama that he overlooks important matters of context. Those English colonists settled on Native ground, and it was Indians, more than anyone else, who determined the colony’s fate. Lawler sometimes seems to lose track of the forest for several of his story’s very interesting trees.

But beyond these criticisms, Lawler has done a workmanlike job, for the most part, in synthesizing the work of many scholars into a highly readable narrative. From their hard-earned wisdom and experience, he cobbles together a story geared toward the interested public. There is nothing in this book that will surprise readers of this journal who are familiar with early English colonization efforts, but Lawler stands on the shoulders of the giants in this small field. If he fails to see as far as he might, he draws together the scholarship of the past and the continuing investigations of the present into an appealing synthesis nonetheless.

SUNY-Geneseo

MICHAEL LEROY OBERG

1619: Jamestown and the Forging of American Democracy. By James Horn. (New York: Basic Books, 2018. Pp. xii, 273. \$28.00, ISBN 978-0-465-06469-4.)

In *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975), that seminal study of life in early Virginia, Edmund S. Morgan argues that bondage and freedom were connected in such a way that one could not exist without the other. Almost from their very beginning, the two emerged knotted and disfigured, like conjoined twins of a peculiar sort, as tobacco came to define the economic destiny of the English colony. Since its publication, Morgan’s work has inspired others to write about the strange pairing. In *1619: Jamestown and the Forging of American Democracy*, James Horn revisits the subject, establishing the year 1619 as an important date in the birth of a nation.

A close reading of a plethora of seventeenth-century sources, *1619* is a tragic yet gripping story. That year marked the advent of democracy in British North America. To promote colonization, Virginia Company investors, led by Sir Edwin Sandys, adopted “the idea of a commercial commonwealth” (p. 44). This “shift from a society based on Company control of the land to a society founded on individual ownership was momentous,” Horn writes, “and necessarily required wholesale changes to the way the colony was governed” (p. 44). With the introduction of tobacco in 1614, the once fledgling enterprise began to flourish as the English developed a taste for the “nicotian weed” (p. 51). In its acknowledgment of individual property rights, equality under the law, and representative governance, Virginia’s commonwealth predated the Great Charter, anticipated the emergence of the gentry class—“ancient planters” who exploited headright to enlarge their own landholdings—and encouraged thousands of poor white people to brave the high seas in search of what seemed to be a promised land (p. 61). Besides addressing the

problems of idleness, waywardness, and, of course, dire poverty that existed in England at the time, the Virginia commonwealth took on itself the lofty mission of proselytizing to the Powhatan Natives, whose lands their foreign neighbors coveted. In theory, the colony would “be peopled by skilled workers, industrious planters, virtuous women, the redeemed poor, and Christianized Indians,” who would toil together harmoniously to achieve a perfect “balance between private enterprise and the common good” (pp. 136, 121). Over time, however, Sandys’s dream turned into a nightmare, as many of the aforementioned people in Virginia, that is save for the grandees, refused to embrace their assigned roles in the “finely grained hierarchy” (p. 121).

To complicate matters, that same year the colony’s power brokers also embraced the idea of chattel slavery. While a few of “the 20. and odd” Africans brought to Virginia in 1619 might have fared well, most likely did not (p. 90). “The absence of terms of service,” for example, “suggests they served for life” (p. 111). The absence of Africans with surnames in extant records also suggests that they were not held on equal footing with “poor whites who served fixed-terms contracts” and who were identified “by their first and last names” (pp. 111, 113). Not long after their arrival, black slaves came to represent an important resource for those who controlled the levers of power in the colony. Consequently, their introduction in the Chesapeake undercut Sandys’s paternalistic vision of a commonwealth and ensured the paradoxical legacy of the American republic.

In the end, missing in this engaging study of seventeenth-century Virginia is a fuller analysis of servitude and the role it played in the development of British North America. Before 1619, the grandees of the Virginia colony harbored prejudiced views about everyone they considered “other.” Before rationalizing the destruction of the Powhatan people, before characterizing Africans as *black*, they thought little of poor, landless whites. Callously, for example, over the course of the seventeenth century, they approved plans “for hundreds of poor children” to be forcibly transported to the Chesapeake to “serve as field-workers and domestic servants” (p. 135). In a calculated effort to maintain their power, they passed legislation that robbed most servants of their rights. In this setting, Sandys’s dream of an English utopia went to naught. Instead, from almost the outset to the present, American democracy owes an enormous debt to American bondage and slavery.

Sacramento State University

ANTONIO T. BLY

The Jamestown Brides: The Untold Story of England’s “Maids for Virginia.”

By Jennifer Potter. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019. Pp. xii, 372. \$29.95, ISBN 978-0-19-094263-2.)

The history of the United States is a story of immigration. For over four hundred years, immigrants to North America have risked tremendous dangers and suffered severe hardships in the hope of achieving a better life for themselves and their families. *The Jamestown Brides: The Untold Story of England’s “Maids for Virginia”* explores the history of one of these first immigrant groups: young, single English women recruited by the Virginia Company to immigrate to Jamestown to find husbands among the mostly

male colonists. The Virginia Company believed the women would make these men more settled and that they would raise money for the company's coffers through reimbursements from the women's future husbands.

Like most Jamestown immigrants, these women faced great risk, but they also faced the possibility of great reward. Consequently, it is surprising that author Jennifer Potter writes that the fundamental question the book seeks to answer is whether these women were victims or adventurers, "women prepared to invest their persons rather than their purses in the New World" (p. 7). Clearly, the Jamestown brides, as well as nearly all other voluntary immigrants to the Virginia colony, were both.

As Potter carefully details, Jamestown was founded as a profit-making enterprise, and the welfare of the colonists was never the priority. Moreover, even if the colony had been given greater care and resources, disease, starvation, and conflicts with the local Indian tribes meant that colonization was always going to be a dangerous enterprise. Potter vividly describes how both men and women suffered the colony's hardships and profited from its opportunities, yet she struggles to characterize the Jamestown brides as anything other than victims. This characterization is unfair, but it is also understandable. As the book reveals, for many of the women the decision to immigrate was a fatal mistake.

Shortly after the women arrived in Jamestown, large numbers were killed in a horrific Indian attack. Moreover, although the Virginia Company could not have known about the impending attack, the company's lack of concern for the women's deaths can be characterized as a second victimization. As Potter writes, "I remain shocked that I found not a single expression of regret from the leaders of the Virginia Company . . . about sending so many of these women to their deaths" (p. 308). Thankfully, this ill-treatment is one Potter can and does remedy.

Although *The Jamestown Brides* mostly confirms previous understandings of the Virginia Company's bridal immigration program, the book's important contribution is in combating the women's historical erasure and restoring their individuality. For so long, the Jamestown brides have been clumped together as one undistinguishable mass—a group of women sharing general physical, financial, and familial characteristics. Potter provides the details and stories that have been missing. For example, she reveals that many of the brides were recruited from the friends and family of Virginia Company personnel. She also notes that others came from the theater region of London and may have attended and been inspired by Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, his play about adventures in the New World. Further, she shows that at least one woman was likely fleeing a quarrelsome and possibly abusive brother. Such information provides a clearer picture of who these women were, why they chose to immigrate, and whether it was a reasonable decision.

The book also offers revealing new details about the women's lives after their arrival. Potter uncovers legal scheming and treachery, scandalous gossip, daunting feats of heroism, and stunning financial successes. Finally, after relating the rich details of these women's lives, Potter concludes that, like the prominent men have, "all the settler women who endured Jamestown's

privations in those early years deserve a church memorial” (p. 309). Through *The Jamestown Brides*, Potter has created this memorial. It is a fitting tribute.

University of South Carolina School of Law

MARCIA ZUG

Remaking New Orleans: Beyond Exceptionalism and Authenticity. Edited by Thomas Jessen Adams and Matt Sakakeeny. (Durham, N.C., and London: Duke University Press, 2019. Pp. [x], 358. Paper, \$28.95, ISBN 978-1-4780-0287-1; cloth, \$104.95, ISBN 978-1-4780-0182-9.)

The claim that New Orleans is an exceptional place is nothing new. Especially for those who “discovered” the city after Hurricane Katrina—perhaps as volunteers, volunteers-turned-transplants, or one of the city’s millions of tourists per year, all of which are categories of analysis featured in this collection—the city seems set apart from the mundane and removed from the constricting social mores typical of the rest of the United States. This exceptionality, perhaps epitomized by a *laissez-faire* attitude toward sexuality and alcohol consumption, is as old as the city itself, but it has evergreen relevance for today’s residents, visitors, scholars, and policy makers. In the edited collection *Remaking New Orleans: Beyond Exceptionalism and Authenticity*, contributors attack New Orleans’s supposed distinctiveness on multiple fronts and not only call into question the city’s exceptionality (which, admittedly, would be somewhat of a superficial critique on its own) but also examine how the city’s posturing as singular occludes analyses that do not fit the tourist-oriented mold of authenticity. Importantly, the authors take aim at how New Orleans’s so-called exceptionality obscures its role in capitalist political economic structures. Their complex analyses suggest that, in fact, the promotion of the city’s uniqueness is “integral to the hegemony of capitalist social relations. The attachment to exceptionalism and authenticity is at the very heart of neoliberalism, positing difference rather than exploitation as the central injustice of the contemporary world” (pp. 7–8).

The book is divided into four chronological sections. Part 1, “Constructing Exceptional New Orleans,” focuses on how writers, travelers, and historians in the colonial period contributed to the early construction of the city and its denizens as exceptional—“the invention of a romanticized New Orleans” (p. 13). Part 2, “Producing Authentic New Orleans,” examines how various social actors and groups in the city—such as the Zulu Social Aid and Pleasure Club, fans of the first black professional wrestling headliner Junkyard Dog, and white volunteers after Hurricane Katrina—negotiated the fraught terrain of authenticity. The chapters in Part 3, “What Is New Orleans Identity?,” introduce considerable nuance into commonly held narratives about the city’s historical sexual permissiveness, race and class, and Vietnamese belonging. Part 4, “Predictive City?,” provides the volume’s most incisive critiques of the city’s postindustrial neoliberal orientation, which has only accelerated since Hurricane Katrina, exacerbating socioeconomic inequality, slashing the government safety net, and disenfranchising exactly those groups—primarily working-class black

residents—on whom much of the city’s touristic allure depends. An introductory chapter aptly outlines the book’s premises and describes its theoretical orientation.

The book is strongest in the later sections as the narrative moves from past to present. The editors have marshaled an admirably diverse (by gender, discipline, and race) group of scholars to cover the book’s more than three centuries’ time span. Although the overall package is polished and feels cohesive, the chapters vary in quality and theoretical robustness (par for the course with multiple-author anthologies). Many chapters offer truly original insights in their capturing of lesser-known cultural, political, or historical aspects of the city. Vern Baxter and Maria Casati’s examination of the controversy surrounding the building of Pontchartrain Park (chapter 9), a black suburb built in the early 1950s, is one such example of a lesser-explored part of the city’s history. Baxter and Casati capture the history of “boring black people”—terminology invoked by Helen A. Regis in chapter 6 to describe middle-class African American residents who cannot boast affiliation with the city’s “insurgent” black traditions of, for instance, second-line parading (pp. 146, 147). The settlement of Pontchartrain Park may not be as attention-grabbing, but it reveals much about how the city, far from being removed from capitalist forces at the national scale, indeed led the way in state and federal urban development partnerships.

A handful of minor changes could have added to the book’s polish. This volume could have benefited from an expansion, or rather reconfiguring, of the introductory material. At the beginning of each of the book’s four sections, a short recapitulation of the book’s framework, outlining how each section’s chapters further the overall argument, would have tightened each section’s focus and reminded the reader of how those chapters fit with each other and into the larger volume. The inclusion of more figures, in the form of photographs, maps, or illustrations, would have been welcome, especially in the chapter “Refugee Pastoralism: Vietnamese American Self-Representation in New Orleans” by Marguerite Nguyen. The stronger of the two chapters on the HBO drama *Treme* (2010–2013), chapter 7 by Vicki Mayer, Heidi Schmalbach, and Toby Miller, is characterized by plain language, a tight focus, and clear links to the volume’s overall theses and goals. These elements are essential in speaking to the broad, cross-disciplinary audience that this book is likely to attract.

These are relatively minor points in evaluating what is otherwise a stellar work set to advance theoretical and empirical scholarship on the study of New Orleans. This anthology has clear implications for scholarly conversations in a number of fields, including history, geography, sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies. Though too specialized for a survey course, it would make a fitting text for an upper-year undergraduate seminar or graduate-level course on, for example, cities and neoliberalism. In a crowded field of New Orleans-centered, post-Katrina scholarship, *Remaking New Orleans*—albeit ironically—is a true standout.

Girls Preparatory School

GREGG LIGHTFOOT

Trade, Politics, and Revolution: South Carolina and Britain's Atlantic Commerce, 1730–1790. By Huw David. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2018. Pp. xxviii, 256. \$59.99, ISBN 978-1-61117-894-4.)

Thirty-five years ago, John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard called for fresh explorations of early American economic history. *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill, 1985), however, offered such a deep analysis of the expansion of the colonial American economy that few studies followed. In fact, after the publication of this important work, economic history as a distinct field seems to have gone remarkably quiet. Perhaps the cultural turn beguiled young scholars away from the statistical work that is the bread and butter of economic study, or maybe social history continued to reshape fields like economic history in nontraditional ways. Recently, large-scale studies of capitalism have rejuvenated interest in economic history, and Huw David's *Trade, Politics, and Revolution: South Carolina and Britain's Atlantic Commerce, 1730–1790* answers McCusker and Menard's call for new approaches to early American economic history by placing the "Carolina trade" squarely in an Atlantic context (p. 1).

David has written a history of the trade relationship between a small group of British merchants who composed the "Carolina lobby" in London and the merchant-planter elite in South Carolina between 1730 and 1790 (p. 2). As David notes in the introduction, he is wading into the historiography about whether the American Revolution was inherently material or ideological, and he emerges with an argument that the two are intertwined in important ways. The book, however, is not a study about the impact of the Revolution on trade but an exploration of the impact that trading relationships had on the coming of the American Revolution.

Trade, Politics, and Revolution is well researched and sharply written. David has combed through the personal papers of men on both sides of the Atlantic who became rich from the Carolina trade, and he uses both literary and statistical evidence to understand the success and demise of the same. It is not a traditional economic history of Carolina's rice, indigo, or deerskin trades; it is a study of the reception of the Carolina lobby by South Carolinians and the shifting "perception" of whether that lobby adequately represented Carolina's interests in Parliament over time (p. 2). He argues that the success of the Carolina trade depended on the alignment of metropolitan and colonial interests. This alignment, born in 1730 with the passage of the Rice Act, broke down in the 1760s as commercial disagreements grew and Americans condemned the paternalistic excesses of British mercantilism. The failure of the lobby to oppose the Coercive Acts in 1774 only added to the breakdown of trust. Whereas British lobbyists found no economic grounds to oppose the legislation, Carolina merchants had already engaged in ideological and constitutional dissent. The system that had made men rich in a time of "political tranquillity," David argues, "was exposed . . . as being fundamentally untenable and counterproductive" (p. 130).

David's work is at its finest in the context of the Carolina trade. Yet one of his most intriguing observations tantalizes but remains unfinished. David

notes, as have others, that before the Revolution South Carolina most closely resembled British Barbados and Jamaica, yet he does not seize this opportunity to further explore the uniqueness of Carolina's decision to rebel in this context. Perhaps a more nuanced exploration of slavery's role within the Carolina trade, alongside a conversation with Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy's *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia, 2000), would enhance David's explanation for South Carolina's move for independence. David's final chapter turns the study to the "rapid resumption" of the British-Carolina trade after the war, explaining that Americans rewarded British merchants who had sympathized with the American cause (p. 131). While the book lacks an in-depth look at the Revolutionary War years, this excellent study of the Carolina trade between 1730 and 1790 will prove useful to scholars of South Carolina, Atlantic political economies, and debates about the causes of the American Revolution.

Marquette University

A. KRISTEN FOSTER

The Consequences of Loyalism: Essays in Honor of Robert M. Calhoon. Edited by Rebecca Brannon and Joseph S. Moore. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2019. Pp. xiv, 333. \$59.99, ISBN 978-1-61117-950-7.)

This collection of fifteen essays about Loyalists honors the scholarship and mentorship of Robert McCluer Calhoon, known especially for his sweeping *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760–1781* (New York, 1973) and *Political Moderation in America's First Two Centuries* (New York, 2009). The essays in *The Consequences of Loyalism: Essays in Honor of Robert M. Calhoon* are organized in two equal parts: "Perceptions," a key concept from Calhoon's work, stressing Loyalists' ideologies, motivations, and self-understandings; and "Moderation," a core value for some Loyalists as well as for their postwar reintegration into U.S. society.

Coeditor Rebecca Brannon's introduction notes that "the umbrella term of *disaffected*" usefully "covers a wide variety of people" who were motivated by an "incredible diversity of issues" (p. 2). In her view, many individuals "have been dumped under the capaciously large category of Loyalism," which can override important matters of individual agency (p. 3). Not all Loyalists became so by choice, and they certainly did not do so for identical reasons. From a welter of causes and experiences, one common theme that unites many of the essays and that reflects a recent trend in the field is a strong awareness of the American Revolution as a "civil war" and of the idea that "the American nation was born in violence" (p. 2). The volume also stresses "a long-standing moderate strain in American politics," yet moderation can be hard to square with the emphasis on violent civil war (not to mention our present Trumpist moment) (p. 7).

The collection accurately reflects the current contours of Loyalist studies with an especially even geographical representation of the regions that would become the United States and with three essays on Canada, though a lack of attention to the British West Indies is notable. While slavery and Native Americans are discussed in several essays, African Americans (perhaps better,

Afro-Britons) and Indigenous people do not occupy center stage in any essay. Interestingly, only one essay deals substantially with the prewar period; thus, the war itself and the postwar era, especially, receive the greatest attention. Also striking is the biographical approach in many of the essays as well as an emphasis on intellectual, ideological, and cultural assessments. The essays are all quite short, all are scholarly (with robust citations), and all show a good balance of primary and secondary source research.

Four essays focus on southern subjects, a pair each on intellectual and military history, and merit closer attention for readers of this journal. The opening (and longest) essay, by Taylor Stoermer, compares moderate Loyalist John Randolph as an “Augustan and metropolitan,” a constitutionalist dedicated to the parliamentary supremacy of 1688, with his cousin Thomas Jefferson as one of the “provincial cosmopolitans” (pp. 11, 19). While lacking a pointed argument, the learned essay sketches a sound “transformation” in Virginia “from a political culture of constitutional sense to one of revolutionary sensibility” (p. 15). Eileen Ka-May Cheng’s assessment of how Patriot historian David Ramsay built on and transformed the work of Loyalist historian Alexander Hewatt provides close readings of passages about natural history, Native Americans, and slavery. Cheng stresses Anglo-American affinities that Ramsay deployed to portray South Carolina as a cosmopolitan country with an exceptional role to play in world history. While Stoermer looks back to common British values of the eighteenth century that diverged, Cheng sees that shared culture as foundational for a U.S. nationalist “cosmopolitan humanitarianism” that simultaneously denied its British roots and excluded Indians and people of African descent (p. 227).

Carole W. Troxler assesses six backcountry Loyalist recruiters to test the validity of British general Charles Cornwallis’s complaints about the failures of southern Loyalists in arms. She persuasively argues that Cornwallis failed to grasp the severe circumstances that backcountry Loyalists faced, and she chides historians for too often considering the South only once it had become a major theater of the war and for too fully accepting top-down assessments by military elites. C. L. Bragg’s account of Alexander Chesney’s wartime experiences in South Carolina also highlights the dire situations faced by Loyalist militia in the backcountry. The essay offers a clear narrative of exciting martial endeavor but lacks the sure interpretive and methodological command of Troxler’s chapter. A final southern commentary appears in the brief afterword by Warren R. Hofstra, a biographical assessment of Calhoun, especially regarding his career at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and the key role of James Sharbrough Ferguson, chancellor of that university from 1964 to 1979, as a model of moderation in a period of strife.

Three essays pay close attention to the postwar reintegration of Loyalists into U.S. society, the most sustained theme in the volume and an emergent topic in Loyalist studies. Brett Palfreyman examines legislation that first stripped and then restored civil rights to those who refused to swear allegiance to the rebel government of Pennsylvania. Essays by Aaron Nathan Coleman and Rebecca Brannon use the concept of *transitional justice* in different ways to explore reconciliation across the United States, including the South. All three authors find that by the late 1780s reintegration was

broad and generous. Two more standout essays deserve notice. Gregory T. Knouff's nuanced linguistic interpretation of the public assertions of a moderate Loyalist and his more adroit wife presents the rich intersection of domestic and political worlds in Revolutionary New Hampshire, and Christopher Sparshott offers an invigorating view of New York City as a refugee camp, which animated performances by those who sought to qualify as Loyalists as well as for British officials with resources to dispense. Reviewing a large and varied essay collection in a very short space is an exercise in frustration, but readers will be rewarded by this volume's range, consistent quality, and up-to-date assessments.

University of Maine

LIAM RIORDAN

Thomas Jefferson's Lives: Biographers and the Battle for History. Edited by Robert M. S. McDonald. Foreword by Jon Meacham. Afterword by Gordon S. Wood. Jeffersonian America. (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2019. Pp. xxxii, 311. \$35.00, ISBN 978-0-8139-4291-9.)

The word *Lives* in this title may be interpreted in several ways, as shown in this marvelous new collection of essays, finely edited by Robert M. S. McDonald. The essays originated at a 2012 conference at Monticello to commemorate Peter S. Onuf, one of this generation's master historians of Thomas Jefferson. Each of the other master historians featured in this volume examines the biographical interpretations of a particular era during the nearly two centuries since the third president's death in 1826, excluding the present generation of Jefferson biographers. Interest in the third president has not flagged since his death; the mythologizing of Jefferson has been of industrial proportions. That is one way to read the titular "Lives."

Another way is that, with each generation, the perception of Jefferson's character has shifted, reflecting the biographer's own times. As Jon Meacham writes in the foreword, "there is no such thing as a totally objective life. Biographies . . . often belong to the ages in which they were written no matter how hard some historians may try . . . It can be no other" (p. x). Finally, reading *Lives* in its verb form, it is clear that Jefferson still baffles biographers, and the challenge to define him continues. R. B. Bernstein, in his fine essay on Dumas Malone, quotes Hermione Lee that biography is "a mixed, unstable genre, whose rules keep coming undone . . . [and] the only rule that holds good is that there is no such thing as a definitive biography" (p. 220). In the end, it is fair to say that the essayists agree with Joseph J. Ellis's incisive 1997 portrait of Jefferson as the "American Sphinx," an icon that remains a puzzle.

Thomas Jefferson's Lives: Biographers and the Battle for History is divided into three sections, reflecting the chronology of the biographies. Part 1, "Memory," begins with a reflection on Jefferson's own failed efforts to write a memoir, which is followed by a series of essays about the biographers who either knew Jefferson or knew people who were familiar with the paterfamilias. This group includes an adulatory great-granddaughter, Sarah N. Randolph, who, as the late Jan Ellen Lewis points out, emphasized Jefferson's dislike of public life and claimed he "entered politics only out of 'a lurking desire to leave to his children the honor'" (p. 87). Not all of the early authors were so romantic

or self-serving in their works. They emphasized Jefferson's public life and his public service while suppressing his personal life, a slant that, in the period between the early nineteenth century and the Civil War, meant allowing scant attention to slavery, to Jefferson's absence from public service during the Revolutionary War, and yes, to the scandalous story of his relationship with Sally Hemings. This rumor circulated after 1802, when the journalist James Callender published a reference to Jefferson's so-called illicit affair.

None of these essayists can get away from the subject of Jefferson's relationship with Hemings, perhaps a telling reflection of the current generation's contextual focus. The conclusive evidence surfaced in 1998 when the scientific certainty of DNA confirmed the paternity of Hemings's children. Earlier historians, like Henry S. Randall, whom Andrew Burstein insightfully analyzes along with James Parton, attributed paternity to Jefferson's nephews, the notorious reprobates, the Carr brothers. Burstein's Randall "showcased [Jefferson] as the most well-rounded, refined, and resilient of the founders"; "Randall's work served as justification for all future monuments to the Jefferson whose 'spirit-stirring pen' enshrined a world-transformative humanism" (p. 63). Parton's 1872–1873 biography echoed that sentiment: "If Jefferson was wrong, America is wrong. If America is right, Jefferson was right" (pp. 77–78).

In a transitional essay to the second part, Richard Samuelson nods to John Adams by examining the *History of the United States during the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison* (1889–1891) by the second president's great-grandson, Henry Adams. Strangely, there is only scant examination in Adams's volume of Jefferson's most revelatory correspondence, that with John Adams. Indeed, Samuelson notes, only the most indirect references in the *History* were conceded to Henry Adams's great-grandfather. And while Henry Adams attempted objectivity, in the end he judged the Jefferson presidency a failure because Jefferson killed his own theories of small government by enacting an embargo and purchasing Louisiana. Essays in Part 2, "Rivalry," by Nancy Isenberg (on Aaron Burr) and Joanne B. Freeman (on Alexander Hamilton) place Jefferson's enemies in perspective. Jefferson had a "pathological hatred" of Burr (p. 132). Hamilton considered Jefferson a "scheming demagogue" (p. 150).

In Part 3, "History," the biographies written in the period from the Progressive era through the outbreak of World War II shaped an image of the third president that was enshrined in his eloquent language. The truths we hold to be self-evident inspired hero worship by Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the 1930s, culminating in the unveiling of the Jefferson Memorial in 1943. Jefferson became the personification of peace, equality, and democracy itself. Claude G. Bowers and Albert Jay Nock, who were not even professional historians but a political operative and a former Episcopal priest, respectively, stirred the Depression-era president, Brian Steele argues, to invoke Jefferson as a "timeless oracle" (p. 177). It was the biography by Gilbert Chinard, *Jefferson: The Apostle of Americanism* (1929), that Roosevelt invoked when he called Jefferson the "'Apostle of Freedom'" (p. 14). Another generation brought biographies by professionally trained historians such as Dumas Malone and Merrill D. Peterson.

The image of a sainted Jefferson was finally toppled by “that woman,” Fawn Brodie, who was not a historian but a literary scholar with a deep understanding of Freud (p. 272). “It is not that her book is without flaws,” writes Annette Gordon-Reed, “although Brodie got Thomas Jefferson *the man* almost exactly right” (p. 268). But Gordon-Reed judges Brodie’s biography a “masterpiece” because Brodie asked “the right questions,” and she changed the narrative about Jefferson (p. 268). For her troubles, Brodie received the calumny of male professionals. She did not live to see her work vindicated, dying nearly two decades before the 2000 report that confirmed the DNA evidence of Thomas Jefferson’s relationship with Sally Hemings.

Gordon-Reed credits Brodie for drawing a connection between the personal and the political. Brodie’s great contribution was accepting the words of Jefferson’s second family, the words of Madison Hemings, over the “legal-family-as-expert” (p. 266). She “put the words of people who had been enslaved on par with the people who had enslaved them” (p. 276). That has been the revolution in our understanding of Thomas Jefferson and in the scholarship that marks the prevalent current reading of the life of the third president.

Stanford University

EDITH GELLES

Murder in the Shenandoah: Making Law Sovereign in Revolutionary Virginia.

By Jessica K. Lowe. Studies in Legal History. (New York and other cities: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Pp. xiv, 210. \$49.99, ISBN 978-1-108-42178-2.)

On July 4, 1791, after a brief, grog-fueled brawl, Abraham Vanhorn was mortally stabbed in Berkeley County, Virginia. John Crane, a middling but socially well-connected farmer on whose property the dispute occurred, stood accused of murder. Vanhorn’s death triggered a yearlong convoluted legal journey, from a local field through Virginia’s courts to the governor’s office, and culminated in Crane’s execution. Jessica K. Lowe takes the trial and ensuing events as an opportunity to analyze some of the most contentious debates over the role of law and the meanings of justice in a post-Revolutionary America keen to establish a new model of justice consonant with Enlightenment principles. The case’s legal machinations rippled across the Shenandoah Valley and into legal reforms already afoot as Virginians sought to embed republican principles into criminal law, a site that Lowe identifies as the “paradigmatic” interplay between liberty and state power (p. 9). By “seeing a case as an experience, instead of an outcome,” Lowe argues that law was not staid or ancillary to political development but was “created as it moves,” a perspective that captures the internal and external political and social forces that shaped the case (p. 14). Lowe brings a lawyer’s eye to the nuances of the case, analyzing seemingly minor procedural moments, such as litigating the case in a newly created district court, to reveal how new commitments to legal egalitarianism challenged traditional class hierarchies that had defined colonial Virginia.

This book would be important if only as a model for how Lowe takes scant, fragmentary evidence buried in multiple archives and develops a narrative lyrical in its prose and almost visual in its texture and analysis. In these

post-Revolutionary years, legal outcomes were uncertain, as evinced by the jury's decision in Crane's case. After days of deliberations and while deeply concerned about the justness of public execution, the jury, interconnected through personal relationships excavated by Lowe, could only decide that Crane was responsible for Vanhorn's death. They sent a "special verdict" to the judge, St. George Tucker, who later became one of the nation's most influential jurists, leaving it to him to decide between life and death, manslaughter or murder (p. 7). Tucker, Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, Charles Lee, and other luminaries of Virginia's social aristocracy made law as much as local laborers, middling social strivers, and newspaper editors.

This story intervenes in discussions about where legal power was negotiated and how broader social change happens. Was it on the ground, in a multitude of daily exchanges, providing evidence of legal plurality, or was it in more systematized appellate processes and state legislative arenas? Lowe points to legislative reforms that "brought state jurisdiction to local places," and she sees consistency and ultimately "decentralization," where other scholars have tracked divergence (p. 183). Many of "the same prominent men often wielded power at *both* the state and local levels," and they engineered structural legal change (p. 184). It was a society steeped in a legal consciousness that informed social, economic, and political relations rather than one that preferred extralegal violence based in a culture of masculine honor.

If I had one wish for this book, it would be a greater exposition on how "making law sovereign" was imbricated in the simultaneous post-Revolutionary processes of consolidating racial hierarchy and securing white legal dominance. While law may have been "the paradigmatic example of the state's power over the citizen," many Virginians lived outside the boundaries of citizenship and were denied legal personhood in the Enlightenment's "new republican reality" (pp. 9, 10). This is a quibble of degree not of substance. Lowe has written an engrossing and powerfully argued book that deserves widespread attention.

Purdue University

YVONNE PITTS

The Free Exercise of Religion in America: Its Original Constitutional Meaning.

By Ellis M. West. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. Pp. xiv, 317. \$89.99, ISBN 978-3-030-06051-0.)

The question of the meaning and limits of religious freedom in federal politics and in United States society has been debated since the promulgation of the Constitution in 1789. The more specific question of what exactly the free exercise of religion meant has become increasingly important and remains an important point of constitutional debate in the twenty-first century. Ellis M. West's *The Free Exercise of Religion in America: Its Original Constitutional Meaning* offers a comprehensive and informative narrative of the initial constitutional meaning of religion's free exercise and the Revolutionary generation's motivations for creating the free exercise clause.

West makes clear this work is a constitutional history and accordingly focuses most of his energy on legal and political correspondence during the Revolution and its aftermath, during the Constitutional era, and during the initial years of the

early republic. Scholarship regarding free exercise has often been strictly legal in its scope. West urges a broader paradigm than mere legality in his work. Constitutional laws created to govern religion, he notes, were not meant to preclude specific laws but entire categories of laws in the early national era.

The text is divided helpfully into sections based on geography. The work begins with Virginia. The case of Baptist churches in Virginia forms a sizable part of West's treatment. He takes seriously the constitutional ramifications of what the Virginia General Assembly—led by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison—granted to Baptists. He adds to the historiography by exploring and analyzing the possible constitutional consequences of what the Baptist petitions and the petitions of their supporters actually requested.

Religious exercise in the mid-Atlantic states never took on the same importance as in Virginia. State churches were less powerful, and the longtime presence of Quakers in Pennsylvania and New Jersey encouraged a lackadaisical enforcement of what laws the states had and disinterest in confronting religion politically. Put simply, state governments and state actors ignored religious questions. West states plainly that in New Jersey there were no significant issues relating to religion and government during the colonial era and early statehood. Pennsylvania, from its colonial founding, never sponsored an established religion, and free exercise remained a social fact, if not a political right *per se*.

New England's powerful Congregationalist establishment and history of state religion did not mean that the region's religiosity spread evenly over its territory. Massachusetts, generally seen as the bastion of Puritanism, actually had a relatively decentralized establishment that allowed for communities to choose what church they funded. This resulted in an overwhelming majority of Congregationalist churches receiving public funds. As they had in Virginia, Baptists led the charge to remove all public legislation regarding religion's public and private exercise.

The British North American colonies that became the United States were robustly religious societies that retained a healthy concern for the immaterial soul. Although British North Americans were generally Protestants, they were not so committed to rationality and reason that they subordinated religion to rationalism. North American Protestantism was also not the highly individualized religion that eventually typified evangelical Protestantism of the twentieth century. Protestants in the late eighteenth century were highly communal and social. Rights concerning the exercise of religion were not merely individual or private rights. They were meant to be exercised on a social scale. West also notes that these Americans used different articulations of free exercise: rights of conscience and religious toleration both formed different aspects of the free exercise of religion.

The Free Exercise of Religion in America offers a concise and well-researched analysis of the contested history and practice of religious free exercise. West's work is helpfully organized and impressively comprehensive for a volume that is just over three hundred pages of text. It adds a useful synthesis to the historiography of religion in the early republic that will be useful to graduate students as well as senior scholars.

Liberty University

MILES SMITH

The Pursuit of Happiness in the Founding Era: An Intellectual History. By Carli N. Conklin. Studies in Constitutional Democracy. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2019. Pp. xiv, 241. \$40.00, ISBN 978-0-8262-2185-8.)

Developed by Aristotle, adopted by Thomas Aquinas, and embraced by countless others, the concept of happiness (*eudaimonia*) as the summum bonum for law and society is the subject of a vast and sophisticated philosophical and theological literature. Carli N. Conklin is surely correct that William Blackstone's statement about the "paternal precept, 'that man should pursue his own happiness,'" in an introductory chapter of his magnum opus "was common among the latitudinarian Anglican theologians and Scottish Common Sense philosophers of his day" (pp. 13, 8). Prompted by her encounter with this quotation, Conklin sets out to "[explore] the meaning of the pursuit of happiness as it was used first by Blackstone in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* and then in the Declaration of Independence" (p. 7). Originally a dissertation at the University of Virginia, the text of this monograph appears substantially verbatim in Conklin's "The Origins of the Pursuit of Happiness" in the *Washington University Jurisprudence Review* (vol. 7, no. 2 [2015], pp. 195–262).

The precept that Conklin believes Thomas Jefferson borrowed appeared in seven editions of the *Commentaries* before Blackstone altered it in 1778 to "man should pursue his own true and substantial happiness" (p. 220n12). These introductory quotations are the closest Blackstone ever came to using the phrase "pursuit of happiness." The word *happiness* rarely appears elsewhere in four volumes of *Commentaries*. Blackstone's source has not been identified, but one finds the first quotation in Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui's *Principles of Natural Law* (1748), where it was presented as a well-known maxim.

Conklin portrays Blackstone's reference to happiness as a "point of convergence" woven from four strands of thought: English law, classical antiquity, Christianity, and the Scottish Common Sense school (p. 206n4). Yet happiness disappears for pages at a time in digressions about King Alfred, Bishop Joseph Butler, Blackstone's architectural metaphors, Newtonian science, and much else—written virtually exclusively from secondary sources. Based on one journal article, Conklin links Blackstone with Butler (who died in 1752) as thinkers who "discussed epistemology in ways that reflect the writings of Thomas Reid, a key thinker of the Scottish Enlightenment," though Reid did not publish his *Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense* until 1764 (p. 32).

Lacunae spoil the argument for Jefferson's reliance on Blackstone. "What are we to make of the fact that the phrase 'pursuit of happiness' was not edited at all," Conklin asks, "either by Jefferson, [John] Adams, or [Benjamin] Franklin, within the Committee of Five, or within the Continental Congress as a whole?" (p. 55). Did it have a commonly understood "substantive meaning" (p. 55)? The likely answer is that Jefferson and his colleagues knew the concept from John Locke's chapter on power in his *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690). Having accepted Garry Wills's contested argument in *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence* (Garden City, N.Y., 1978), Conklin never confronts Locke's use of the phrase. Neither did she consult the evidence in Herbert Lawrence Ganter, "Jefferson's 'Pursuit of Happiness' and

Some Forgotten Men” (*William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd ser., vol. 16 [July and October 1936], pp. 422–34, 558–85), or Arthur M. Schlesinger, “The Lost Meaning of ‘The Pursuit of Happiness’” (*William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., vol. 21 [July 1964], pp. 325–27).

In recent decades, historians of ideas such as the late Caroline Robbins (whose essay on the pursuit of happiness in *Absolute Liberty: A Selection from the Articles and Papers of Caroline Robbins* [Hamden, Conn., 1982] has also escaped Conklin’s notice) have transformed our understanding of modern history and political thought. Conklin’s *The Pursuit of Happiness in the Founding Era* raises many questions. With keyword-searchable books, periodicals, and newspapers readily available, a reliable monograph documenting the concept of the pursuit of happiness seems overdue.

Richmond, Virginia

JON KUKLA

The Embattled Vote in America: From the Founding to the Present. By Allan J. Lichtman. (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 2018. Pp. xiv, 315. \$27.95, ISBN 978-0-674-97236-0.)

Allan J. Lichtman’s *The Embattled Vote in America: From the Founding to the Present* centers on Lichtman’s observation that there is no right to vote in the U.S. Constitution. His sweeping history of the country’s ensuing struggles over voting rights traces the immense significance of this missing feature in the nation’s founding document.

Lichtman’s book is an unusual amalgam of historical scholarship, contemporary policy study, and first-person narrative, drawing on his experience as an expert witness in recent voting rights cases. In the first five chapters, he provides a detailed history of voting rights to the mid-1960s, focusing on the efforts of various states to condition the right to vote based on property ownership, racial identity, gender, and immigrant status. This section of the book is an accessible and surprisingly rich history, a history that has been generally available only by referring to separate studies of shorter historical periods or individual aspects of voting rights (race or gender, for instance, but not both). The chapters on the antebellum effort to create a white man’s republic (chapter 2); the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century struggles over the post-Civil War extension of white and male supremacy in voting rights (chapter 3); and the efforts to secure voting rights for women (chapter 4) are full of powerful insights and detailed history.

In chapter 5, Lichtman provides a history of efforts to demobilize voters in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that used the well-worn claim that various restrictions on voting were necessary to prevent voter fraud and the corruption of democratic elections. This chapter sets the stage for the remaining chapters of the book, which take the reader through recent political history. Chapter 6 offers a brief history of the landmark Voting Rights Act of 1965. Chapter 7 highlights how various states with Republican Party majorities in their state legislatures have imposed new voter identification requirements and other mechanisms to address the imagined problem of voter fraud, which Lichtman illustrates has no evidence to support it; this chapter also describes the

impact of the U.S. Supreme Court's 2013 repeal of section 4 of the Voting Rights Act. The impact of these efforts has fallen most heavily on the same voters who have been at the center of voting rights struggles throughout American history: African Americans and nonwhite immigrants.

Readers interested in the history of the South will find much value in *The Embattled Vote in America*. Lichtman describes the post-Civil War white southern resistance to African American voting as a central feature of his narrative. The deepening partisan divide in the United States is an important part of this history, and Lichtman adeptly traces the historical shift from the southern-based, pro-segregationist Democratic Party in the early twentieth century to the Republican Party's dominance in the region. It is this partisan divide, Lichtman's book illustrates, that has incentivized the more recent efforts of Republican state and national party leaders to obstruct African Americans and other racial minorities from voting in the decades after the passage of the Voting Rights Act. Although this suppression began in southern states in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Lichtman's work illustrates how it has expanded throughout the nation in recent decades.

Lichtman concludes his book with recommendations for reforms based on his historical study and his more recent experience as an expert witness: "A constitutional right to vote, expanded motor voter registration, same-day registration, anti-gerrymandering requirements, independent redistricting commissions, the revival of voting rights preclearance, mandates for paper ballot trails, and secure voting technology would advance the democratic goal of assuring that America is governed truly by the consent of the governed" (pp. 256–57). Lichtman's book provides ample historical and contemporary justifications for these policy prescriptions to ensure that American democracy remains credible and viable in the twenty-first century.

California State University, Fullerton

SCOTT J. SPITZER

North Carolina's Revolutionary Founders. Edited by Jeff Broadwater and Troy L. Kickler. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019. Pp. [viii], 312. Paper, \$29.95, ISBN 978-1-4696-5120-0; cloth, \$90.00, ISBN 978-1-4696-5119-4.)

In *North Carolina's Revolutionary Founders*, Jeff Broadwater and Troy L. Kickler have assembled an impressive collection of essays that reflect the variety of approaches taken and attitudes held by North Carolina's Revolutionary generation. While much historiographical attention has centered on the well-known names of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, James Madison, and others, this volume looks to their lesser-known contemporaries to unpack the lives and careers of North Carolina's "ordinary founders" (p. 1). Against the historical backdrop of federalism, the contributors have brought to life a diverse group, from the women of the 1774 Edenton Tea Party, the leaders of the Catawba and Cherokee Nations, and the free black preacher John Chavis to the more recognizable names of William Hooper, James Iredell, and Richard Dobbs Spaight Sr.

While not a "comprehensive" history of Revolutionary North Carolina, the volume highlights the contributions of those who were active in the Revolution

or in the crafting of the Constitution (p. 17). The resulting essays reveal a wide range of opinions among the founding generation, who sought to balance the pragmatic needs and interests of nascent national and state governments with the principles of republicanism. But why North Carolina? Broadwater and Kickler point to the state's "unique history and distinctive political culture," which "bred in many North Carolinians an intense localism and a distrust of government in general" (p. 2). All these essays are written to better understand the types of political orders that North Carolina's founding generation had in mind for the future of their state and nation.

The first essays focus on North Carolina's Revolutionaries. Maggie Hartley Mitchell looks at the influence of the fifty-one women who signed a petition at a gathering known as the Edenton Tea Party, situating the women's actions against the economic backdrop of Edenton, North Carolina, and the transgression of traditional gender roles through intentional political activism. Broadwater's essay on William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and John Penn highlights the lack of consensus among the men who signed the Declaration of Independence and their diverse visions for the founding of a new nation.

Contributions from James MacDonald and Michael Toomey look to the west. MacDonald's work on the Catawbas and Cherokees shows how Revolutionaries attempted to woo Native Americans to support their cause against the British. The Catawbas and Cherokees weighed their options; the Catawbas chose to support the American cause in hopes of survival, while the Cherokees descended into war as a result of the generational and political split in their communities. As the Revolution came to a close, many white Americans looked westward. There, John Sevier envisioned a "common country" where, according to Toomey, western landownership was the realization of the pursuit of happiness and American liberty despite the resulting loss of independence for Native Americans (p. 89).

The next set of essays focus on North Carolina's Federalist leadership at the Constitutional Convention and in the debates leading up to ratification. Jennifer Davis-Doyle investigates North Carolina's own "Renaissance man," Hugh Williamson, who promoted education and a strong central government (p. 114). Spaight is the subject of Karl Rodabaugh's research, which concludes that, while Spaight's ideas on the federal government were nothing remarkable or unique, Spaight played a key role in the founding generation. Lloyd Johnson examines Revolutionary military hero and two-time North Carolina governor Richard Caswell, whose influence led to important court reforms in the colony before the Revolution and the provision of deerskins to the Continental army during the war. Finally, Willis P. Whichard analyzes Iredell's influential career in the era after the ratification of the Constitution and during his service on the United States Supreme Court.

The strength of Anti-Federalism in North Carolina is explored in Jason Stroud's essay on Samuel Spencer and Kyle Scott's work on Willie Jones. Stroud argues that the "eleventh-hour efforts" of the state's Anti-Federalists were too little, too late but should not be understood as "a hopeless, sullen rearguard action, an attempt to derail or delay the inevitable consolidation of the federal union" (p. 199). The vocal opposition from men like Spencer and Jones at the Hillsborough convention revealed the worries of many over the

centralization of political power in the hands of a federal government and the need for a bill of rights.

Finally, attention is given to those who inherited the fruits of the Revolution and left a mark on the new state and the early republic. Scott King-Owen delves into the contributions of William R. Davie, who made a distinctive argument in support of counting enslaved persons toward state representation in the federal legislature during the Constitutional Convention. The exceptional life and career of free black missionary and educator John Chavis is explored in Benjamin R. Justesen's essay, as is Chavis's influence on early state leaders such as Willie Person Mangum. Kickler concludes the volume with his work on nineteenth-century leaders Nathaniel Macon and Archibald D. Murphey, whose political influences are still felt in state politics today.

The volume's contributors come from diverse professional backgrounds, including education, law, public history, and cultural resource management, providing a fresh look at these founders and their stories. Authors consult a broad range of evidence, from colonial and state records to copious correspondence, to offer an exceptional look into the minds of North Carolina's founders. Broadwater and Kickler have successfully presented a volume that engages with a neglected part of the history of the American Revolution and early republic and brings North Carolina back to the historical stage.

Cape Fear Community College

KIMBERLY B. SHERMAN

No Property in Man: Slavery and Antislavery at the Nation's Founding. By Sean Wilentz. (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 2018. Pp. xviii, 350. \$26.95, ISBN 978-0-674-97222-3.)

Inspired by Justice Thurgood Marshall's comments on "a deep historical conundrum concerning the Constitution and the freedom struggles that followed," Sean Wilentz has embarked on exploring the question of how a proslavery Constitution, as generally believed, eventually became "an instrument for antislavery politics" (p. x). Given the voluminous and seemingly exhaustive literature on such subjects as the constitutional founding, the history of antislavery, and the politics leading to the Civil War, Wilentz seems to set himself an unimaginably difficult task. The result of his heroic endeavors, however, is a brilliant and groundbreaking achievement. *No Property in Man: Slavery and Antislavery at the Nation's Founding* not only substantially revises our understanding of the original intent of the Constitution's framers on the issues of slavery and its containment but also critically rewrites the history of the nation's antislavery struggle.

To be sure, Wilentz does not deny that the original Constitution contained many concessions that enabled the continuation of slavery and the augmentation of slaveholders' power after the nation's founding, but he aims at uncovering and deciphering "the crucial subtlety" of the framers who had "deliberately excluded any validation of property in man" and acknowledged slavery as nothing more than "a creation of state laws" (pp. 1, 2). The Constitution, instead of being a thoroughly and completely proslavery document, had in fact produced a paradoxical outcome that acknowledged slavery where it had existed without nationally sanctioning it. This paradox, according

to Wilentz, became “the constitutional basis for the politics that in time led to slavery’s destruction” (p. 5).

The five-chapter book primarily covers the history of antislavery within the established constitutional and political venues from the Revolutionary era to the secession crisis. Antislavery activists outside the political system, such as Quakers and Garrisonian abolitionists, are also discussed, but not as the story’s protagonists. The most original and insightful contribution, in this reader’s view, is Wilentz’s discussion, in chapter 2, of how the antislavery and proslavery delegates of various backgrounds struggled, through the debates over the three well-known slavery-related compromises (regarding the three-fifths clause, the Atlantic slave trade, and fugitive slaves), to determine whether slaves should be defined as property to be protected by the Constitution. “[T]he idea that there could be no property in men” was introduced into and affirmed by the Constitution, ironically not as a grand philosophy of antislavery but more as the result of James Madison’s effort to clarify a technical glitch questioned during the debate over the slave trade clause (p. 97). But Madison’s clarification, though not intentionally done, “did sustain a principle that most of the delegates honored: that property in man had no place in national law” (pp. 98–99).

Along with the framers’ insistence on congressional authority to limit slavery’s expansion, the constitutional exclusion of the rights to “property in man” provided two usable ideas and mechanisms that were invoked by later generations to serve antislavery causes of various kinds. Covering the congressional debates over the organization of key territories (the Northwest, Southwest, Mississippi, Louisiana Purchase, and Mexican Cession), the Missouri Compromise of 1820, the Compromise of 1850, the *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) decision, and the party realignment after the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), Wilentz devotes his later chapters (chapters 3–5) to highlighting how different generations of antislavery activists, both inside and outside the political system, enlisted these original antislavery ideas and mechanisms to confront the proslavery aggressions of the Slave Power.

The book’s ending is especially powerful as Wilentz dramatically reveals how Abraham Lincoln and South Carolina’s declaration of secession (and, later, the Confederate constitution) contested the U.S. Constitution’s original intent on handling property in man. The contest effectively affirms the validity of Wilentz’s important rediscovery of a usable past that resets the beginning of the nation’s antislavery struggle to its first founding.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania
and Peking University

WANG XI

American Abolitionism: Its Direct Political Impact from Colonial Times into Reconstruction. By Stanley Harrold. *A Nation Divided: Studies in the Civil War Era.* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2019. Pp. [x], 280. \$39.50, ISBN 978-0-8139-4229-2.)

In *American Abolitionism: Its Direct Political Impact from Colonial Times into Reconstruction*, Stanley Harrold presents a cogent, concise argument stressing the “direct abolitionist impact on colonial, state, and national

governments” using “such tactics as petitioning, lobbying, and personal contacts with politicians” (p. 3). Harrold introduces his argument with a helpful historiographical review and then provides a quick survey of colonial-era abolitionist politicking, building to the surprisingly effective interracial campaigns to win northern emancipation. Harrold also illuminates how abolitionists in the early republic simultaneously worked to sway national policy makers through canny, if ultimately unsuccessful, petitioning. In Harrold’s hands, these tactics appear radical and consequential, and their failure spurred the creation of the understudied but impactful American Convention of Abolition Societies. Harrold offers valuable insights on how the American Convention and affiliated abolitionist organizations engaged national politics from the 1790s through the 1820s, especially during the Missouri crisis and by spearheading the first mass petition drives for abolition in the District of Columbia. In general, this book is most revelatory when analyzing abolitionist activism in moments or places where it is usually perceived as politically dormant, as well as when showcasing the efficacy of the supposedly apolitical Garrisonians.

Moving the narrative into the 1830s, Harrold highlights immediatist abolitionists’ political tactics even in the era typically characterized as dominated by moral suasion. Harrold also emphasizes intermittently throughout the book, and in a chapter on lobbying from 1836 to 1845, the wide range of significant, sustained abolitionist efforts to influence Congress. Harrold views abolitionist electoral politics less favorably, portraying the Liberty Party as generally ineffective and contending that the thousands of Liberty partisans who entered the Free Soil Party in 1848 necessarily renounced their abolitionism. Elsewhere, Harrold explicates abolitionists’ “physical action against slavery,” synopsising and augmenting his excellent earlier research on the political import of aggressive abolitionist tactics; he later thoughtfully situates the 1859 Harpers Ferry raid within this framework (p. 115). The final chapters focus on attempts by Garrisonians and “radical political abolitionists” (who rejected fellow Liberty partisans’ move into the Free Soil Party and maintained that the Constitution authorized national abolition legislation) to reshape Republican Party politics (p. 42). If perhaps overly critical of President Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Congress, Harrold provides a valuable, detailed discussion of the evolution, at times even on a month-to-month basis, of abolition activists’ interactions with Civil War policy makers.

This compact, informative book has many merits, but scholars of abolitionist politics may be frustrated by Harrold’s preoccupation with rigidly delineating who qualified as an abolitionist and when. Harrold’s strict standard produces frequent awkward turns of phrase like “former abolitionist,” “nonabolitionist,” “at the time was still an abolitionist,” and “in effect ceased to be an abolitionist” (pp. 106, 107, 110). But Harrold’s blanket dismissal of nearly every Free Soiler’s and Republican’s abolitionist commitment is problematic beyond stylistic qualms. Harrold disparages the campaign for denationalizing slavery as inherently incompatible with abolitionism, even though many of denationalization’s champions considered overthrowing the Slave Power the indispensable precondition for nationwide emancipation. In Harrold’s telling, mobilization into mainstream electoral politics automatically disqualifies antislavery men and women from being denoted abolitionist. With Harrold so emphatically dismissing

antislavery partisan politics, Garrisonian disunionism or radical political abolitionists' fantasy of Congress reinterpreting the Constitution to bar slavery everywhere appear as the only acceptable abolitionist political strategies. Harrold thus inaccurately depicts most political abolitionists' attention to electoral practicality as abandoning the cause; in the process, Harrold implicitly casts doubt on whether radical change could ever have been pursued through electoral politics.

Nevertheless, inasmuch as Harrold so forcefully asserts his arguments and so explicitly acknowledges the historiography he disputes, even readers who rightfully disagree with some of his interpretations should find *American Abolitionism* quite useful for teaching both its subject matter and its historiographical field. This book's broad sweep, brevity, and forceful, if sometimes flawed, argumentation make it an important contribution to the historiography and a highly assignable text.

York College of Pennsylvania

COREY M. BROOKS

The Art of Texas: 250 Years. Edited by Ron Tyler. (Fort Worth, Tex.: TCU Press, 2019. Pp. x, 446. \$60.00, ISBN 978-0-87565-703-5.)

The Art of Texas: 250 Years is an ambitious survey of artists who have lived and worked in the state now known as Texas, including Spanish colonial portraitists, Minimalist sculptors, and everyone in between. The project is both an exhibition of more than one hundred paintings and sculptures at the Witte Museum in San Antonio as well as a ten-by-twelve-inch hardcover book with more than 350 full-color illustrations and fourteen essays by preeminent scholars of Texas art. The editor, Ron Tyler, also edited *The New Handbook of Texas* (Austin, 1996), and *The Art of Texas* has a similar encyclopedic feel. It is broad in scope and well researched, and it will be a useful resource for both experts and newcomers to the unique visual culture of the region.

The hefty book joins a number of recently published works that celebrate Texas as a significant incubator for the arts: Pete Gershon's groundbreaking *Collision: The Contemporary Art Scene in Houston, 1972–1985* (College Station, Tex., 2018), William Middleton's meticulously researched *Double Vision: The Unerring Eye of Art World Avatars Dominique and John de Menil* (New York, 2018), Jay Wehnert's reflections in *Outsider Art in Texas: Lone Stars* (College Station, Tex., 2018), and Katie Robinson Edwards's award-winning *Midcentury Modern Art in Texas* (Austin, 2014). Whereas other books focus on art historical questions of originality and patronage, most essays in *The Art of Texas* situate artworks in the context of social history and a uniquely Texan culture that was formed over the centuries by a mix of indigenous, immigrant, and enslaved peoples. Half of the authors hold Ph.D.s in history or American studies, and this training gives them useful methodologies for studying regional art history. Texas may not be recognized as a major art center in most art historical texts, but *The Art of Texas* makes a compelling argument that culture in the state was built from the ground up by a myriad of artists who were taken with the beauty of the landscape and were strongly supported by their communities.

The essays are arranged chronologically by subject, starting with Tyler's history of Texas art from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and

concluding with an essay by K. Robinson Edwards on “Liberty and Lone Star Modernism” in the twentieth century. Many of the authors, including Susie Kalil, Sam DeShong Ratcliffe, William E. Reaves Jr., Francine Carraro, and Michael R. Grauer wrote influential books in the 1990s on Texas art, and their essays in *The Art of Texas* are updated summaries and revisions of subjects in which they have substantial expertise. Kalil writes on landscape paintings, Ratcliffe on nineteenth-century history painting, Reaves on the 1920s wild-flower painting contests known as the Davis Competitions, Carraro on Depression-era regionalism, and Grauer on western art. Kenneth Hafertepe and Light Townsend Cummins have recently published books on Texas architecture and material culture and bring their knowledge to bear on paintings and sculptures for this volume. Hafertepe considers work by artists who emigrated from Germany, and Cummins writes on sculpture. Curators Rebecca Lawton and Jay Wehnert also offer insights on Texas Impressionism and Outsider Art, respectively. A highlight of the book is Richard B. McCaslin’s text on the sculptor Pompeo Luigi Coppini, which is an exciting preview of his forthcoming biography of the artist.

The roster of established scholars who have contributed to *The Art of Texas* is impressive. However, there are some notable omissions. Texas is home to two world-renowned scholars of Latinx art, Tomás Ybarra-Frausto and Mari Carmen Ramírez. Neither are included as authors in this volume or cited in Ricardo Romo’s essay on “Hispanic Art in Texas.” Texas is also home to legendary curator and scholar Alvia Wardlaw, and Houston is the subject of a revelatory book by Darby English about a racially integrated exhibition of abstract art, *1971: A Year in the Life of Color* (Chicago, 2016). Yet neither scholar is included here. Scott A. Sherer’s survey of “Early African American Art in Texas” does not have the depth of analysis that others in the volume do, relying almost entirely on secondary sources for the research instead of artist interviews and archives. Without a more thorough account of Latinx and African American artists by scholars as renowned in their fields as the other contributors are in theirs, this survey of Texas artists is uneven and ultimately incomplete.

The Art of Texas is a compendium of beautiful artworks and insightful essays that are sure to surprise even the most avid follower of art in the region. For historians of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Texas, it offers a wealth of images that add depth and complexity to cultural histories of the period. Many artworks are in private collections or small museums, and this book may be the only opportunity to study these works. It is therefore an indispensable if imperfect book.

Savannah College of Art and Design

RACHEL HOOPER

“The Showy Town of Savannah”: *The Story of the Architect William Jay*. By John D. Duncan and Sandra L. Underwood. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2019. Pp. [x], 438. \$40.00, ISBN 978-0-88146-689-8.)

Architecture does not exist in a vacuum but instead reflects the influences of religion, politics, economics, technology, transportation, and social history, to name but a few. John D. Duncan and Sandra L. Underwood’s impressive book

on the English architect William Jay gives readers the broader context for not only Jay's work but also his background and the world he entered when he came to North America in 1817. Duncan and Underwood tell readers about Jay's trials and tribulations leading up to 1817 and after. Well researched and heavily documented, *"The Showy Town of Savannah": The Story of the Architect William Jay* is organized into seven parts and includes numerous illustrations and an extensive bibliography.

The brief introduction to *"The Showy Town of Savannah"* provides the reader with the state of current knowledge about William Jay, based largely on a handful of twentieth-century sources. Duncan and Underwood point out that our understanding of Jay was hemmed in by early scholarship focusing on architectural developments in the Northeast and by the fact that his style, which Duncan and Underwood identify as the Regency style, was seen as "an un-congenial blossom on American soil" (p. 7).

William Jay was born around 1792 in Bath, England, the oldest son of the renowned Reverend William Jay. The fame of his father and his grandfather's occupation as a stonemason most likely provided the young Jay with an introduction to the world of architecture and set him on his future course. Jay's early architectural career was shaped by John Soane, who was one of his professors at the Royal Academy of Arts in London in 1808. Soane's lectures and his love for Greek architecture had a profound influence on Jay, and Jay wholeheartedly embraced the Grecian style. Duncan and Underwood construct a concise timeline of Jay's education, his work in the office of David Riddall Roper, and the projects Jay was involved with before coming to Savannah, Georgia, in 1817. All of this experience labeled him as a Regency architect.

Professional disappointments in England and a family connection to the merchant and shipper Richard Richardson most likely led Jay to Savannah, where he designed Richardson's house. Jay was responsible for numerous houses in Savannah as well as several public buildings. Due to the uncertain economic climate in Savannah emerging around 1819, Jay sought his salvation in Charleston, South Carolina. Jay's stay in Charleston was relatively short, but he did leave his mark on the built environment. American architect Robert Mills may have become the proverbial thorn in Jay's side, forcing Jay to move once more. Jay had a brief sojourn in Washington, D.C., in 1822, only to return to England later that same year. Jay picked up the building thread in England finding work in Cheltenham. In 1828 he was declared bankrupt and struggled to find steady employment. Perhaps in a last-ditch effort, in 1836 he accepted a position in the British civil service in Mauritius, where he died one year later.

Duncan and Underwood have done an excellent job bringing Jay's largely forgotten work back into the light and providing readers with a broad context in which his work was created. *"The Showy Town of Savannah"* is an important contribution to understanding not only buildings but also the people and the society that created them.

Salve Regina University

JEROEN VAN DEN HURK

Appealing for Liberty: Freedom Suits in the South. By Loren Schweninger. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. Pp. x, 428. \$39.95, ISBN 978-0-19-066428-2.)

Anyone who has written in the past two decades a dissertation or monograph on American slavery is likely to be familiar with the work of the Race and Slavery Petitions Project (RSPP) at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Since 1991, the RSPP has been the foremost digital repository for surviving legislative and court petitions relating to slavery, and few have worked more tirelessly to bring the insights of those petitions to the historiography of the field than Loren Schweninger, the RSPP director from 1991 to 2009, and his collaborators.

In *Appealing for Liberty: Freedom Suits in the South*, Schweninger presents a compelling argument for why the lawsuits from which these petitions were taken remain an unparalleled primary source for understanding slavery and the law in the early national and antebellum United States. Using the courts to pursue claims of freedom, litigants in these cases challenged claims made against their persons on legal grounds, effectively inverting the presumption—codified in every southern jurisdiction except Louisiana—that color alone denoted slave status. Reviewing 2,023 extant freedom suits filed between 1779 and 1863, involving 4,601 plaintiffs, Schweninger has, in *Appealing for Liberty*, created a magisterial guide to better understanding slavery through the legal device of the freedom suit.

The book's primary aim is "to illuminate the lives of unknown slaves and free persons of color . . . who filed freedom suits, to trace how they fared in the course of their pursuit of justice, and to explore the significance of their suits to our understanding of the period between the American Revolution and Civil War" (p. 2). As a documentary legal history, it succeeds; its thick descriptions of individual cases, inclusion of extensive genealogical findings (Schweninger includes multiple family trees in the text), empirical analysis, and in-depth taxonomy of the legal systems of several states lend the text an encyclopedic quality. This distinctive contribution of Schweninger's work sets it apart from other recent monographs on freedom suits from the same period.

Schweninger's analysis is strongest when he marries broad analytical claims with detailed, regional, and site-specific examples. The sections describing the legal landscapes that made manumission or emancipation difficult—namely, the efforts of lower South lawmakers to narrow or block pathways to freedom—are especially rich. In these efforts, legislatures across the region treated human property unlike any other species of property (where owners are presumed to have an incontrovertible right to alienate or transfer property during life, and testamentary freedom—the right to dispose of one's property in a will after death—is held sacrosanct).

After the introductory chapter, the book is organized thematically, with chapters focused on legal procedure (including distinctions between law courts and equity courts), claims-making (specifically, the grounds on which plaintiffs based their freedom suits), fugitivity (and its impact on freedom claims), families, lawyer-client relationships, and the unique positionality of women in these cases. In multiple chapters, Schweninger centers the significance of women in making and unmaking slave status, both in their reproductive

capacity (making) and in their capacity as freedom suit plaintiffs (unmaking). As Schweningen reminds readers, due to the assumption of *partus sequitur ventrem* throughout the colonies, “it was through female ancestry that slaves could test their freedom in the courts” (p. 11). In addition to their roles as litigants, enslaved and free black women were also central figures in these court dramas as witnesses because of their gendered roles as the keepers of oral family histories (sometimes even testifying against white people, in contravention of laws limiting black testimony). Regrettably, Schweningen does not consider why, or how, family history became women’s work, especially given the high incidence of family separations and involuntary movement of bound people across state lines. One wonders if a more in-depth consideration of the demographics of the enslaved population in the early national and antebellum periods might be useful here. Is it possible that women’s roles as keepers of family histories might be correlated to enslaved women having longer life expectancies than enslaved men? A consideration of more diverse sources outside the corpus of freedom suits may have been useful in this regard.

Otherwise, the weaknesses in *Appealing for Liberty* are few. One might quibble with the suggestion, in multiple places, that some enslaved people “fabricated” evidence in order to advance their freedom claims (p. 117). This casting of enslaved people as dishonest (essentially, as perjurers) struck this reader as peculiar, particularly since Schweningen cites no examples of enslaved plaintiffs or witnesses fabricating testimony. Moreover, by casting the testimony of these plaintiffs as false, Schweningen has missed an opportunity to consider how claims-making is always theater (see the work of Natalie Zemon Davis and Lea VanderVelde). Fraud and artifice lurk in the background in all of these cases on both sides. A literary analytical lens may have offered some nuance when the strictures of legal formalism limit our collective imaginations.

The book will be well received in graduate history classrooms and as an abiding resource for scholars in the field of slavery and law. Its citations are robust, even exhaustive, and future researchers will treasure its more than one hundred pages of endnotes. Schweningen has again done noble service to the field with this latest contribution.

Rutgers Law School

TAJA-NIA Y. HENDERSON

Sharp Flashes of Lightning Come from Black Clouds: The Life of Josiah Henson. By Jamie Ferguson Kuhns. (Silver Spring: The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, 2018. Pp. xii, 204. \$39.99, ISBN 978-0-692-12723-0.)

It is shocking that historians have not written more about Josiah Henson given his renown in the nineteenth century. Identified as the story of the “real” Uncle Tom, whom Harriet Beecher Stowe made famous in her wildly popular 1852 novel, Henson’s autobiography sold thousands of copies after its first release in 1849. But curiously, like Henson’s contemporary Harriet Tubman, it has taken decades for scholars to publish full academic accounts of these black icons’ life stories. Tubman has received recent attention from historians like Kate Clifford Larson and Catherine Clinton, and Henson is just now getting

noticed by scholars, with comparative literature professor Edna M. Troiano publishing a 2019 biography, a filmmaker documenting his life (*Redeeming Uncle Tom: The Josiah Henson Story* [2019]), and this gorgeous and meticulously researched book by Jamie Ferguson Kuhns.

Kuhns's work begins with an acknowledgment that her motivation for writing a biography of Henson is rooted in the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission's purchase of Henson's historic home in Montgomery County, Maryland. The homestead, which is now surrounded by the most coveted Washington, D.C., suburbs like Chevy Chase, serves as the starting point for both Henson's life and Kuhns's retelling of it, which she does by integrating scholarly sources, images of historical manuscripts, and beautifully reproduced maps and photographs. While the result is more like a coffee-table book than a historical monograph, the scholarship is sound, and the story is compelling and accessible to the general public.

Kuhns contextualizes Henson's remarkable life within the history of slavery and abolition, his autobiography within the genre of the slave narrative, and his rise to fame alongside the fictional *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The result is a sweeping chronology of Henson's enslaved childhood in Maryland, his trials as a smart, strong, and disabled (due to injuries from being whipped) overseer and preacher in Maryland and Kentucky, and his eventual escape to Canada in 1830 at the age of approximately forty. After arriving in Canada, Henson claimed that he would "use my freedom well; I'll give my soul to God" (p. 91).

Like fellow Marylander Tubman, Henson was deeply spiritual and felt motivated by God to continue his work for black freedom after securing it for his wife and four children. Henson returned several times to the South and rescued dozens of enslaved people, ferrying them from Kentucky to Ohio and on to Canada; indeed, it was Henson's crossing the Ohio River into Cincinnati that informed Stowe's climactic scene in the novel. Ultimately settling in Dresden, Ontario, Henson was instrumental in establishing the British-American Institute (BAI), a school for black people that taught industrial skills like milling, a trade that Henson had mastered. In addition to proceeds from the sales of his autobiography and his work as a preacher, Henson hoped that his labors at the BAI would help the free black community in Canada become "independent of the white man for [their own] intellectual progress" (p. 104).

Henson's family and fame grew after the Civil War; he married Nancy Ridgely Gambriel in 1858 after his first wife, Charlotte, died, and together they raised ten children, whom they provided for, in part, with the increasing sales of Henson's autobiography. Henson published seven editions of the book between 1877 and 1890, capitalizing on the fame of Stowe's novel by renaming the 1879 version "*Truth Is Stranger Than Fiction*": *An Autobiography of Rev. Josiah Henson (Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom") from 1789–1879*. Historians know that truth is often not stranger than fiction, but certainly Kuhns has done readers a great service by resurrecting Henson's important life story.

University of Tulsa

KRISTEN OERTEL

Fugitivism: Escaping Slavery in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 1820–1860. By S. Charles Bolton. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2019. Pp. x, 302. \$34.95, ISBN 978-1-68226-099-9.)

John Scott's desire to free himself from slavery earned him a reputation as a fugitive with "a history of running away" (p. 231). It also influenced his master's decision to deny his request to work as a wage-earning cook on a local steamboat. Scott malingered "until he got what he wanted" (p. 231). Soon after another "unsuccessful attempt to get away," Scott was sold, only to seize on his new master's greed and poor judgment to escape again (p. 231). His quest began in Louisville, Kentucky, and may have ended in Canada; Scott finally conquered the American slave system.

The story of Scott's fugitivity is among those discussed in S. Charles Bolton's *Fugitivism: Escaping Slavery in the Lower Mississippi Valley, 1820–1860*. The book directs historiographical attention to the region "from the mouth of the Ohio River at Cairo, Illinois, to the Gulf of Mexico," including parts of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee (p. 6). It investigates fugitivism and locates it within wider southern society and culture, assessing how socioeconomic and socio-political tensions, demographics, and local populations were impacted by fugitives from slavery. It is presented in eight chapters, which explore absenteeism, abolitionism, policing, theft, transportation, violence, and other themes recurrent in enslaved persons' lives. Chapter 1, a discussion of Frederick Law Olmsted and his observations on slavery in the South, and chapter 5, in which Bolton compares urban and rural slavery, are particularly excellent.

Fugitivism enters a rich body of scholarship exploring enslaved fugitivity, positioning itself as an examination of runaway advertisements "from a somewhat different perspective than previous studies, most of which have emphasized their importance as evidence that American slaves resisted slavery" (pp. 7–8). "Running away was certainly a rebellious act," argues Bolton, "but it was also a choice, and the pull of self-actualization and anticipated happiness was often more important to the decision than the push of exploitation" (p. 8). *Fugitivism's* determination "to give more attention to the individuals than the institution" will be well received by slavery scholars, although the author's insistence that "emphasizing fugitivism as resistance tends to focus more attention on slavery rather than on the slave" might draw criticism (p. 8). The argument arises from the author's view of fugitivism as resistance and fugitives as rebels and his perspective of runaways as "people willing to take dangerous risks to improve their physical, material, and psychological well-being"—persons who pursued "the entire triad of natural rights that Thomas Jefferson claimed for Americans" (p. 8).

Fugitivism is an extensively researched investigation of fugitivity told through individual cases. Newspapers are the primary source of evidence, while legal documents and court cases lend depth to the argument. Autobiographical accounts are, however, rather surprisingly underutilized, and several key secondary works are absent from the bibliography. Readers might also find some of the terminology in the book problematic, especially the use of *slave* when describing enslaved persons. The denial of personhood associated with this terminology seems counterintuitive to the message of self-actualization promoted in the book.

The author also uses “runaway slave advertisements” despite acknowledging that “‘runaway’ is an inadequate way of describing a person who absented himself or herself from slavery” (pp. 10, 4). *Fugitivity advertisement* seems more fitting and accounts for the range of methods used by enslaved persons to escape.

In any case, *Fugitivism* enriches scholarly knowledge and understanding of enslaved fugitives and fugitivity in the antebellum South, introducing individual stories of fugitivity from the lower Mississippi River Valley. It makes an original contribution to the historiography by offering new perspectives and information that are sure to generate scholarly discussion, especially around the concept of fugitivism and its use in distinguishing resistance to slavery from acts of self-actualization waged by enslaved persons.

University of Bristol

SHAUN WALLACE

Rebellious Passage: The Creole Revolt and America’s Coastal Slave Trade. By Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie. (New York and other cities: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Pp. xxx, 345. Paper, \$29.99, ISBN 978-1-108-70000-9; cloth, \$99.99, ISBN 978-1-108-47624-9.)

In November 1841, nineteen enslaved people successfully revolted aboard the *Creole* as the vessel from Richmond, Virginia, plied the waters of the Bahamas Channel. Benjamin Johnson, Elijah Morris, Doctor Ruffin, and Madison Washington led the revolt. The rebels directed first mate Zephaniah C. Gifford and crew to pilot the *Creole* to the British port at Nassau. British colonial officials imprisoned the *Creole*’s captives at Nassau, and United States consul John Bacon aided an armed attempt to remove them from the Bahamas. The captives and rebels were protected from seizure by the free black troops of the British Army’s Second West India Regiment and by local black Bahamians. Ultimately, Bahamas colonial governor Francis Cockburn and the colonial council determined that the rebels be freed according to a British imperial law that, in 1833, ended slavery in the British colonies. In December 1841, the *Creole* called at port in New Orleans, absent its original captain, one passenger, and all but five of the original 139 captives.

Historian Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie’s *Rebellious Passage: The Creole Revolt and America’s Coastal Slave Trade* revisits this liberation story in an ambitious attempt to explain the lessons found in a deep range of U.S. federal, state, and British imperial sources. Scholars have often featured Madison Washington as the hero of the *Creole* revolt. Through careful research of the *Creole*’s manifest and bills of lading, Kerr-Ritchie astutely demonstrates that the vessel’s captives were drawn from a wide range of enslaved Virginians. Recent histories of the U.S. domestic and coastwise slave trades have made clear the ubiquity of slave trading among American southerners. Here, too, Kerr-Ritchie demonstrates convincingly that no fewer than eight merchants and consignees invested in the *Creole*’s fateful voyage, among them the infamous slave traders Robert Lumpkin and Thomas McCargo. Kerr-Ritchie’s research also pushes beyond previous scholarship to bring extant records held in the Aberdeen Papers at the British Library to bear, including the diplomatic correspondence between British special envoy Lord Ashburton, U.S. secretary of state Daniel Webster, and

British foreign secretary Lord Aberdeen. To trace the postrevolt settlement patterns of the *Creole* captives in the Bahamas, Kerr-Ritchie employs, among other sources, local histories, oral interviews, and land grant records.

Rebellious Passage is particularly unique in how it foregrounds the U.S. coastwise slave trade as the subject of major contests of U.S.-British diplomacy. Here, Kerr-Ritchie demonstrates that politicians, abolitionists, diplomats, and newspaper editors closely followed the antebellum legal proceedings that affirmed freedom for the *Creole* rebels in British and American courts. Previous scholarship had cast the revolt as an affair or mutiny, minimizing it as an episode in the history of antislavery diplomacy. Turning this older work on its head, Kerr-Ritchie describes in impressive detail the revolt's social, legal, and diplomatic consequences using British Colonial Office and Foreign Office records; the 1842 U.S. Senate dossier of official correspondence; officer and crew depositions and protests that were collected at Nassau and at New Orleans; and the 1856 U.S. Senate report on the proceedings of the Anglo-American Commission charged with deciding a wide range of maritime and terrestrial civil claims and property disputes dating to the War of 1812. Kerr-Ritchie brings fresh eyes to these sources to argue in detail that the revolt was, for the *Creole* captives, not freedom gained retroactively through the benevolence of British colonial officials but an active process of self-liberation.

The historian's breath of fresh air, *Rebellious Passage* masterfully demonstrates the utility of placing the *Creole* revolt at the center of the long history of diplomacy between two expanding nineteenth-century domains—a post-emanicipation antislavery empire and a rapidly strengthening slaveholding republic.

University of Rhode Island

MARCUS P. NEVIUS

The Bank War and the Partisan Press: Newspapers, Financial Institutions, and the Post Office in Jacksonian America. By Stephen W. Campbell. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019. Pp. x, 222. \$34.95, ISBN 978-0-7006-2744-8.)

Stephen W. Campbell's thorough history of the Bank War in Jacksonian America reframes and modernizes how historians understand an important moment in American history. Typically, the Bank War has been seen as a contest of wills between two titans of nineteenth-century America (Andrew Jackson and Nicholas Biddle) that led directly to the destruction of the Second Bank of the United States (BUS) and to a severe economic recession. But Campbell's research emphasizes a more precise and equally important facet of that decade of banking controversies and crises. Instead of focusing solely on the economic aspects of banking, or even on the clash of Jackson and the so-called People with Biddle and the so-called Interests, Campbell's text "advances a new political interpretation" of the Bank War and shows how the invention and propagation of a hot-button political issue (the Bank War) became a vehicle through which the American federal government recast the partisan and electoral landscape of the nation at that crucial moment when American democracy was rising to fuller strength (p. 6).

The major contribution of *The Bank War and the Partisan Press: Newspapers, Financial Institutions, and the Post Office in Jacksonian America* shows how the partisan press in the towns and cities across this vast land were both drawn into the Bank War and, in turn, propelled it by seeking to shape that conflict to partisan advantage. More precisely, Campbell shows the profound ways that the partisan press and the public conversation were enabled and shaped by funding from the federal government, on the one hand, and the BUS, on the other. Once Andrew Jackson saw the Second Bank of the United States as a political threat, Democrats in the nation and in Congress mobilized to smite it. To do so, Jackson and his allies arranged government contracts to fund supportive newspapers and their editors. In a short chapter near the end of the book, Campbell underscores how important the United States Post Office was in getting these friendly newspapers into the hands of an eager reading audience. Campbell also shows that pro-BUS voices were not without power and influence; Nicholas Biddle, who directed the BUS, offered loans to friendly editors of the partisan press. Biddle evidently did not use federal deposits to engage in this type of politicking, but his position as the head of an institution that had a very close relationship to the federal government did raise questions of conflict of interest. The upshot of Campbell's research, then, is that the Bank War was much more than a personal difference of opinion. It was a national conversation about the shape of democracy and of the role of a centralized bank within that structure. And, crucially, Campbell's emphasis is that such an important conversation was fueled and channeled by big money being poured into the debates, making serious, effective efforts to control the narrative of what constituted the public good.

This book, though specialized, deserves to be read by historians and students interested in American political development. The most striking findings in this text indicate not only that the American state was a player in the nation's history (one of Campbell's motifs), but also that even as long ago as the 1830s, the U.S. government and major corporations elided the line between honest debating and corrupt influence peddling. While *The Bank War and the Partisan Press* raises more questions than it answers about how the Bank War affected the South, it is well worth the time, especially in a nation that is currently being compelled to reexamine the relationship between the public good, partisan politics, and private power.

Episcopal Collegiate School

SCOTT GREGORY LIEN

Industrial Development and Manufacturing in the Antebellum Gulf South: A Reevaluation. By Michael S. Frawley. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2019. Pp. xvi, 195. \$45.00, ISBN 978-0-8071-7068-7.)

Asserting that southern industry was well developed before the American Civil War, Michael S. Frawley contends that historians who compare northern and southern industry miss the mark. In fact, industrial development in the South lagged behind the North by a decade. Nevertheless, southern industry, when evaluated on its own merits, represented a viable industrial base by 1860. Debunking traditional views that slave labor compromised the basic tenets of free enterprise, Frawley posits that slaves "served as both labor and capital for antebellum southern industry" (p. 92). The combination of plantation-based

agriculture and industrial production constituted “pure and simple” capitalism (p. 95). Consequently, entrepreneurs invested money in whatever would earn a profit.

Citing *DeBow's Review*, Frawley notes that the slave population eventually exceeded the number of agricultural jobs, thus creating the need for industry. Cotton production generated profits, and planters invested those proceeds in land, slaves, and manufacturing. Although industrial output always ran second to “King Cotton,” the development of southern industry proved significant. Addressing several historiographical arguments, Frawley confirms that former studies tended to corroborate preconceived notions—the institution of slavery was incompatible with industrial development; industry disrupted the agrarian way of life; and industry was not integrated into southern society. In contrast, he argues that the Panic of 1837 prompted planters to invest in industry to counter agricultural slumps, thereby leading to a diverse southern economy.

Frawley examines *A Deplorable Scarcity: The Failure of Industrialization in the Slave Economy* by Fred Bateman and Thomas Weiss (Chapel Hill, 1981), one of the first cliometric studies of southern industry. This work, grounded in the 1860 manufacturing census, arrived at conclusions that Frawley describes as inconclusive and unrepresentative. He argues that census marshals failed to record approximately 20 percent of all manufacturing firms in the Gulf South. Therefore, in addition to the 1860 census, he considers “all available sources” using a “geographic perspective” (p. 17). For example, applying Geographical Information System (GIS) software, he charts and maps the combined effects of physical environment, technology, and social institutions. Moreover, he consults newspapers and journals, city and county directories, R. G. Dun and Company credit reports, and local histories to determine that industry was more widespread in the South than previously thought.

Having created a vast database of Gulf South industrial firms operating in 1860, Frawley concentrates on Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, three states that constituted the richest part of the Gulf South region. He also presents five major themes: location, organization, and ownership; resources and raw materials; transportation and markets; capital and labor; and production and scale. As the southern economy expanded, a growing transportation network connected roads, rivers, and railroads. Rivers were the dominant transportation routes, facilitating trade both upstream and downstream. Railroad construction complemented river traffic by connecting remote areas to outside markets and by linking interior points to nearby rivers or to the coast. Consequently, southern industry developed along railroad lines and in areas rich in raw materials.

Ultimately, Frawley constructs a convincing argument. Refusing to evaluate southern industry by looking backward through the lens of the Civil War, he uses maps, tables, and charts to present data in digestible form. Too extensive for publication in book form, his Appendix C (located on a personal website) provides 140 additional pages of pertinent information. Although he seems to ignore the reality of nonstandard gauges, he concludes properly that southern railroads were designed to support local and regional trade, not to provide logistical support for a major war. Configured for a peacetime economy, much of southern industry was “worn out or destroyed” by the Civil War's end

(p. 125). In summary, Frawley suggests that southern industrial development before the Civil War might have represented “the beginning of the ‘New’ South” (p. 127).

University of Montevallo

JAMES SANDERS DAY

Accounting for Slavery: Masters and Management. By Caitlin Rosenthal. (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 2018. Pp. xvi, 295. \$35.00, ISBN 978-0-674-97209-4.)

In *Accounting for Slavery: Masters and Management*, Caitlin Rosenthal presents a compelling “business history of plantation slavery” (p. 8). Rosenthal argues that slavery created a special set of conditions that allowed for modern business management and organizational practices to take shape. Rather than representing slavery as a strain on capitalist enterprise, Rosenthal shows that the unfree labor on which the plantation system depended allowed for intensive tracking, managing, and increased production in ways that were particular to slavery. Slavery allowed for long-term supervision of the enslaved in ways not possible in wage-labor economies that experienced high turnover. This data could lead to innovation and increased productivity in ways typically associated with capitalist business management.

Rosenthal shows how the management of plantation systems in the West Indies and the United States mirrored advances that have been more closely followed in the field of traditional business history. She first reveals how eighteenth-century plantations in the West Indies were early models of the “multidivisional form” of organized and hierarchical production (p. 16). For Rosenthal, absentee ownership, particularly prevalent among English planters in the region, represented not so much decline but “a sign of sophistication and managerial complexity,” as a marker of separation between ownership and management (p. 43). Standardization and “paper technologies,” as Rosenthal describes them, allowed these accounting practices to circle the Anglo-Atlantic world (p. 63). Rosenthal excels at revealing how paper and people helped create standardized practices for the management of plantations. Preprinted forms in plantation ledger books made ideas travel well, as did young accountants with experience on the plantations.

In the second half of the book, Rosenthal shows how the enslaved provided both the labor and the capital that allowed these systems to flourish. With their record keeping, some enslavers followed the value, depreciation, and markets for enslaved people as capital. Rosenthal argues that enslaved people were never completely commodified by slavery’s market because they were never “fully fungible” (p. 149). While enslavers followed the changing value of their human property, in ways similar to other long-term investments of the period, profit was not always readily apparent in relation to costs. Recording the value of the enslaved did provide economic opportunity in the form of mortgages and loans, which could also lead to investment and greater profits. Yet only through loans and sales could the value of the enslaved as human capital be used.

What was often more important to enslavers was to improve methods to make the most efficient use of enslaved people’s labor. Productivity depended on early iterations of scientific management, agricultural advancements, and

control of the enslaved. Rosenthal's work with plantation account books shows that "power enabled precise management" (p. 86). Tracking the work of the enslaved could make for more efficient labor systems. Enslavers and managers recorded data and experimented with planting techniques, punishment, and sometimes reward to increase production. The enslaved, however, were people who could stand in the way of even the most impressive innovations.

As Rosenthal makes clear, each of these developments depended on power. This power was not absolute; the enslaved made themselves known as human beings rather than as perfectly willing parts of the plantation "as a kind of human machine" (p. 115). Yet the terror of slavery was routinized in ways that facilitated data collection and the implementation of new productivity schemes. In so many ways, technological advance depended on the enslaved and the violence enacted toward them. Rosenthal reminds readers throughout the book that even paperwork could enact its own chilling kind of brutality. These systems also depended on legal mechanisms that, of course, eventually changed. The capability of former enslavers to maintain such strict control over African Americans weakened during Reconstruction and through the Jim Crow era, but accounting as a mechanism of control remained and was used to the distinct disadvantage of those caught up in sharecropping, tenancy, and debt peonage.

By exposing slavery's influence on business practices and modernization, Rosenthal perhaps unsettles business history more than our contemporary understandings of slavery and capitalism, yet she deftly situates her book at the intersection of these historiographies. The clear connections that Rosenthal offers in *Accounting for Slavery* make it an important contribution that is accessible to academic and popular audiences alike.

University of North Alabama

JULIA W. BERNIER

They Were Her Property: White Women as Slave Owners in the American South. By Stephanie E. Jones-Rogers. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019. Pp. xxii, 296. \$30.00, ISBN 978-0-300-21866-4.)

Stephanie E. Jones-Rogers's *They Were Her Property: White Women as Slave Owners in the American South* is a groundbreaking work that reorients popular perceptions of slaveholding in American history. Typically viewed through a lens of southern white masculinity, slave owners are often envisioned as landowning white men who dominated chattel bondpeople. Though previous scholarship has occasionally recognized that some white southern women owned enslaved people, such women have often been portrayed as reluctant enslavers who either had to learn the business of enslaving or had to rely on a male relative to guide them. In either case, white men are popularly centered in both the historiography and the popular memory of U.S. slavery.

Thankfully, Jones-Rogers shatters this myth with precision. Using an impressive collection of published and unpublished materials, she examines how white women enslavers not only owned black people but also actively participated in every function of antebellum slavery. White women were buyers, sellers, investors, traffickers, and violent disciplinarians. Far from being the passive heiresses who wrote glowingly of their love for enslaved men and women, white women enslavers, Jones-Rogers argues, asserted their rights to

human property. Readers are introduced to various white women who studied the law and contested any man who tried to obfuscate their participation in the antebellum markets. Each chapter reveals the different roles white women played in accumulating personal wealth and expanding the institution.

Since slavery was the basis of the southern economy, one can imagine that privileged white children raised in the violence of this antebellum world were conditioned to accept their role as enslavers. Jones-Rogers notes that slave-owning women raised in this system did not simply replicate examples from their elders, as “some children clashed with their mothers over the best way to deal with slaves” (p. 12). *They Were Her Property* shows that many white women enslavers viewed themselves as autonomous owners who acted independently, relishing their ability to accumulate financial and social capital in a world dominated by aristocratic white men. In chapters 2 and 3, readers are left with little doubt that white women asserted their positions as slave owners and used legal, social, and economic means to secure their autonomy from male relatives.

Jones-Rogers marshals various sources to prove that violence was an omnipresent reality for those who were owned by white women. Of course, this violence took many forms, as white women willingly exploited every part of the enslaved laborer’s body. In harrowing detail, Jones-Rogers shows how these enslavers actively advertised the wet-nursing capabilities of the black women they owned, selling these services and profiting from the value of this reproductive function. As reproductive value is often presumed to simply connote the birth of enslaved children, chapter 5 proves that wet nursing was another facet of reproductive violence that commodified black women and secured the enslaver’s profits. Indeed, readers leave with a haunting reminder: just as white women separated enslaved women from their own children, white women simultaneously mocked black women’s roles as mothers by “plac[ing] their own infants at the breasts” of those they owned (p. 122).

Jones-Rogers shows how white southern women contributed to the omnipresent violence on antebellum plantations. She uses a vast array of primary sources to prove that white women were not peripheral to the institution of slavery but crucial to its expansion. In looking closely at her chapter titles, one finds they hold a unique feature. Many of them are quotations from the testimonies of the formerly enslaved. This authorial choice exemplifies the book’s unique methodological approach, in that one can read the narratives of formerly enslaved people, specifically those from the often-cited Works Progress Administration (WPA), as evidence for the position of slave-owning white women. Often used to garner information about black cultural and social life in the antebellum South, Jones-Rogers reexamines the WPA narratives to show that enslaved people often portrayed the mistress as the primary enslaver who bought, sold, and disciplined them. Considering that scholars usually draw from the WPAs to analyze the cultural lives of enslaved southerners, *They Were Her Property* creatively demonstrates that the depravities of white southern women were always hiding in plain sight.

They Were Her Property is a seminal text that should feature in the bibliographies of future works on antebellum slavery. I encourage historians to cite it, instructors to assign it, and public platforms to promote it. Not only does it exemplify Jones-Rogers’s skills as a writer and researcher, but it also provides

an example for future scholars who hope to similarly blend creative methodologies, excellent research, and accessible writing.

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

TYLER D. PARRY

Cavaliers and Economists: Global Capitalism and the Development of Southern Literature, 1820–1860. By Katharine A. Burnett. Southern Literary Studies. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2019. Pp. xiv, 266. \$49.95, ISBN 978-0-8071-6930-8.)

Cavaliers and Economists: Global Capitalism and the Development of Southern Literature, 1820–1860 provides a compelling analysis of the emergence of southern literature in the antebellum era by drawing on new and old insights from histories of capitalism and slavery. Building on recent economic histories of slavery and the American South such as Edward E. Baptist's *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York, 2014), Sven Beckert's *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York, 2015), and Walter Johnson's *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 2013) (not to mention classic studies by W. E. B. Du Bois and Eric Williams), Katharine A. Burnett corrects a major flaw in standard accounts of southern literature. Rather than see antebellum southern literature as merely a first draft of the Lost Cause pastoralism that dominated romantic depictions after the Civil War, Burnett convincingly argues that, from historical romances to the "anti-Tom" proslavery social problem novels, early southern literature had an eye to both a romantic pastoral past and the modernizing industrial future (p. 150). She posits that the novel, in particular, was where southern authors worked out the contradictions between the sense that plantation slavery was a premodern form of production and social life and the demands of market liberalization and modernization circulating through the free-trade Atlantic world. This intervention succinctly places southern literature into a circum-Atlantic liberal public sphere, rather than holding it to the side. Some of Burnett's most powerful insights come when she draws connections between British literature and southern authors, such as in a striking comparison of Elizabeth Gaskell's *North and South* (1854) and the most infamous anti-Tom novel, Maria J. McIntosh's *The Lofty and the Lowly* (1852).

Despite the value of this intervention, I often felt that, from a more materialist perspective, the book overstates the supposed contradiction between slavery and capitalist free markets. It is no doubt true that many writers in the Atlantic world saw slavery as incommensurable with emerging liberal political economies, which thus challenged southern writers to sort out the apparent ideological contradiction between capitalism and slavery. But the greatest insight of the new and old economic histories that form the intellectual basis for this study is that the apparent contradiction was a lie of progressive capitalist ideology that did not reflect the material structures of race and production in the Atlantic world. Atlantic slavery was the backbone of early global capitalism, the motor of the Industrial Revolution, and an experimental laboratory for financialization and its attendant epistemologies (as argued by Ian Baucom, among others). Knowing this, it seems clear that what the southern capitalist ideologists were doing in literature was not working out a contradiction but developing

ideological weapons that perhaps were too late to serve slave regimes themselves (although post-1865 continuities in systems of labor and violence should not be ignored) but that did serve global capitalist imperialism in dividing the world between free Atlantic citizen subjects and racialized laboring masses in need of discipline and excluded from the free market.

Nevertheless, Burnett pays careful attention to the transatlantic construction of the global South throughout her period; the bringing into focus of the ideological continuity between the imaginary of the role of the plantation American South in capitalism and the role of the global colonized South in that same regime is a powerful upshot of her work. There was nothing premodern about plantation slave regimes, and just as they cleared the way for future colonial orders (not least of all the Caribbean and Central American adventurism Burnett tracks in a key chapter), the literature of the plantation South cleared the way for imperialist ideology. The myth of the idyllic premodern antebellum South may have been a useful fiction of a later generation, but it was not the project of the capitalist cavaliers examined in this vital book.

Howard University

KEVIN M. MODESTINO

A Literate South: Reading before Emancipation. By Beth Barton Schweiger. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019. Pp. xxvi, 258. \$35.00, ISBN 978-0-300-11253-5.)

In *A Literate South: Reading before Emancipation*, Beth Barton Schweiger reveals an antebellum South that was, contrary to most previous accounts, awash with print and full of readers who were literate by the standards of their day. But as Schweiger points out, print and literacy did not have the emancipatory effects on southern readers that Americans have been taught to expect.

Schweiger spins her story around the lives of two sets of sisters living in the Blue Ridge Mountains in the 1840s and 1850s. She chose this focus in part because historians have mostly concluded that the act of reading liberated women, “both individually and collectively” (p. xvii). Virginians Amanda Cooley and Betsy Cooley and North Carolinians Jennie Speer and Ann Speer read variously and voraciously and, just as important, recorded what they read in journals that documented how their reading was intertwined with their lives and their deaths (they were all dead by 1858, three of tuberculosis and one of typhoid fever).

The Cooley and Speer sisters were surrounded by print—broadsides, periodicals, biographies, songbooks, spellers, and grammar books—most of which has completely disappeared because, as Schweiger points out, it was not designed to survive. But the relationship of the two sets of sisters to this flood of print was not the same. “They had different habits of thought, vocabularies, reading skills, and motives for their reading,” writes Schweiger (p. 29). The Cooley sisters liked “novels, humor, songbooks, magazines, [and] newspapers,” while the more refined Speers sought out “biography, poetry, prescriptive literature, religious works, and history” (pp. 27, 28). The more practical Cooleys tended to record the details of their everyday lives in their journals, while the Speers’ view of themselves and the world conformed to the romantic sensibilities of what they were reading and expressed itself in abstractions, sentimentality, and high ideals.

Both sets of sisters were literate in the sense that they could read and write in the vernacular, though as Schweiger shows, this was a recent, evolving, and unstable definition of literacy, which a century before had meant an education in classical languages and literature. Schweiger spends the first half of *A Literate South* examining how this historically specific form of literacy came about through the burgeoning circulation and widespread use of spellers, grammars, and guides to rhetoric that, as Schweiger writes, taught “the formalities of the vernacular to the daughters of tanners, blacksmiths, and slaves” (p. 40). While many southerners learned the rudiments of spelling and grammar, only a few, like the Speer sisters, progressed to studying the art of rhetoric.

Schweiger devotes the last half of the book to songbooks, novels, and biographies and to the torrents of religious tracts and pamphlets produced by the fractious denominational infighting of the region’s evangelical Protestants. In one of the most fascinating chapters of the book, she shows how published collections of religious songs—formal hymns and camp meeting songs—circulated between the North and the South, among black people and white people, and in churches and fields and how the oral and printed versions of songs interacted across the span of a century or more.

A Literate South makes several important contributions. At the most basic level, Schweiger convincingly demonstrates the ubiquity of print and people who could read it in the antebellum South. Also, by showing how print circulated between the North and the South and across the Atlantic Ocean, she extends to other ranks of southern society the insights of Michael O’Brien on the South’s intellectuals. But perhaps the most interesting part of the book is Schweiger’s contention—built on the insights of the Marxist cultural critic Raymond Williams—that historians have been blinded to the widespread existence of both readers and print in the antebellum South by an “ideology called literacy” (p. 200). This ideology, originating in the nineteenth century but still powerfully influential today, blithely assumes that literacy begets moral, economic, and political progress. But as Schweiger shows, a literate South was not less devoted to human bondage simply because southerners could read and write, and our expectation that it would says as much about us as it does about them.

Baylor University

ROBERT ELDER

Church in the Wild: Evangelicals in Antebellum America. By Brett Malcolm Grainger. (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 2019. Pp. [viii], 271. \$45.00, ISBN 978-0-674-91937-2.)

In *Church in the Wild: Evangelicals in Antebellum America*, Brett Malcolm Grainger makes a strong case that nineteenth-century American evangelicals were just as interested in nature and mysticism as the Transcendentalists. Using a broad definition of nature, and drawing from hymns, poetry, lithographs, published journals, and short stories, Grainger argues that many evangelicals living before the Civil War were far more attuned to the spirituality offered by nature than most scholars give them credit for. Grainger states that what differentiated the various antebellum evangelicals from the Transcendentalists and others outside their faith was their “commitment to ‘vital piety,’ a dynamic, living faith infused by a felt sense of the Holy Spirit” (p. 3).

Grainger elaborates on this thesis in five chapters. In the first chapter, he examines how outdoor revivals and camp meetings led to sentimental feelings toward sacred spaces. Appealing to biblical precedents, evangelicals romanticized groves, fields, hills, and rivers because of the role that they played in their conversion experiences and baptisms. Grainger writes, "Through practices of conversion and commemoration, evangelicals venerated local landscapes—a clutch of trees; a prominent cliff or minor hill; a pleasing patch of grass along a riverbank; a wide, open clearing—as saturated with a special portion of presence" (p. 21). In the second chapter, Grainger focuses on the use of natural contemplation by antebellum evangelicals to connect with God. Such natural contemplation, Grainger suggests, was marked by distinct characteristics, namely, how it "connected empiricism and mysticism, yoking reason and intuition, the outer senses and the inner sense of the heart"; how "[i]t was Christocentric and vitalist" in perceiving Jesus in nature; and how such contemplation transcended race, gender, class, and age (pp. 62, 63). Using poetry, hymnody, lithographs, and devotional material (especially Richard Baxter's *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* [1649]), evangelicals were awakened to Christ's immediate presence in creation. In the third chapter, Grainger studies contemplation as a lived practice, describing how "Believers analogized experiences of feeling engulfed or swallowed up in dark and 'solemn' swamps, caves, and groves to a spiritual descent into the abyss of God's love" (p. 106). Such experiences were marked by periods of rapture and sorrow, as the believer vacillated between feelings of divine presence and absence when he or she became aware of their sin and moved toward a personal relationship with God.

In the fourth chapter, Grainger shows the value that hydrotherapy had for evangelicals like Henry Foster. The natural springs in Fauquier County, Virginia, and upstate New York in particular became popular destinations for evangelicals, who sometimes witnessed miraculous healing properties. In the final chapter, Grainger turns readers' attention to the bizarre use of electrotherapy and animal magnetism by evangelicals. Promoted by T. Gale, Edward Hitchcock, Theophilus Packard, and others, experimenting with magnetic sleep and "'imponderable fluids'" like electricity, evangelicals learned, was biblically and theologically sound, could heal their bodies, would lead to clairvoyance, and might even raise someone from the dead (p. 169). Throughout the book, Grainger dates the demise of evangelical mystical practices to shortly after the Civil War, attributable to a number of factors, including the urbanization of America, the decline of revivalism and camp meetings, the rise of Darwinism, and the advent of modern Pentecostalism.

Grainger's style of writing is just as artistic and creative as his thesis. He takes what historians already know about evangelicals (their conversion experiences, views on sanctification, and much more) and reconfigures their history so that we look at their view on nature in new ways. Building on the work of the eighteenth-century religion historians W. R. Ward and D. Bruce Hindmarsh, Grainger justifiably prods scholars to look with fresh eyes at the perhaps surprising and significant involvement of antebellum evangelicals in nature mysticism.

University of Tennessee at Chattanooga

JONATHAN YEAGER

The Meanest and “Damnest” Job: The Civil War Experiences and Civilian History of Colonel Edmund Winchester Rucker. By Michael P. Rucker. (Montgomery, Ala.: NewSouth Books, 2019. Pp. xii, 305. \$28.95, ISBN 978-1-58838-382-2.)

Edmund Winchester Rucker (1835–1924) was an archetype of a specific kind of Old/New South man: ambitious, adaptable, capable, and successful—a man on the make. As such, he is worthy of detailed examination.

Born into a respectable family near Murfreesboro, Tennessee, in 1835, Rucker manifested an abiding ambition, venturing to Nashville just shy of the tender age of eighteen to better his prospects. Largely self-educated, Rucker landed a job building the Tennessee and Alabama Railroad, acquiring skills and experience as a surveyor. He parlayed these into another railroad construction job, and, when that project failed financially, he moved to Memphis, where he served as a city surveyor and studied engineering. When the Civil War began, Rucker was in his mid-twenties and a founding partner in an engineering concern.

Rucker seems not to have questioned too deeply the issue of secession. For him, the Civil War probably represented opportunity. Having made a promising start to his career, Rucker secured an initial officer appointment as an engineer; he later served in both the artillery and the cavalry. His Civil War activities included supervising construction of Confederate defenses at Columbus, Kentucky; commanding Rucker’s Redan as captain of artillery at Island No. 10; and suppressing dissent in East Tennessee. He spent the balance of the war in charge of cavalry units, most famously, perhaps, with Nathan Bedford Forrest at the battle of Brices Cross Roads. Rucker’s war ended in the aftermath of the battle of Nashville, where he was wounded and captured while covering the Confederate retreat.

After the war, Rucker worked initially on several railroad startups, often with Forrest. In 1880 Rucker relocated to Birmingham, Alabama, where he fortuitously teamed up with James Withers Sloss, one of the city’s earliest boosters. Rucker played a major role in industrializing the city, serving in senior leadership roles for a seemingly endless list of companies.

Michael P. Rucker’s treatment aptly outlines precisely what the title of the book suggests: “the Civil War Experiences and Civilian History” of his distant relative. The thirty-six brief chapters march through Edmund Rucker’s life with clear and direct prose. The strongest portion of the book deals with Rucker’s Civil War service, which makes up fully 90 percent of the whole book. If Edmund Winchester Rucker was there, Michael Rucker describes it and more besides. As such, the author provides a decidedly individual and interesting view of operations in the western theater.

This is not, however, a biography. Here the author was limited by the sources available to him—namely, a cache of personal papers. Consequently, while the timeline of Edmund Rucker’s life emerges, the man himself remains a mystery, as his voice is largely absent. Clearly, he was ambitious and capable, but did he support the Confederate cause because he was personally committed to it or because it offered a pathway to advancement? So, too, are readers left to wonder about the nature of Rucker’s friendship with Forrest. That they were committed to each other and cooperated in business after the war is obvious, but did their

friendship lead to political cooperation as well? These questions and others linger. Finally, the author's brief recounting of Rucker's immensely interesting and significant postwar career serves only to whet the appetite for more.

In sum, this book calls attention to an underexamined but noteworthy figure in the history of the Civil War and New South eras. However, those hoping to learn more about what made a man who successfully straddled the Old and New Souths tick will have to look elsewhere.

U.S. Army Command and
General Staff College

GREGORY S. HOSPODOR

The Seventh West Virginia Infantry: An Embattled Union Regiment from the Civil War's Most Divided State. By David W. Mellott and Mark A. Snell. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019. Pp. xx, 354. \$34.95, ISBN 978-0-7006-2753-0.)

Writing regimental histories presents challenging tasks for historians, especially as the field of Civil War history has grown and expanded to encompass a vibrant array of voices showcasing the interconnected nature of war and society. Traditional regimental histories that focus on the logistics of movement and battle often appear out of place in a field that values critical analysis of the collision of social and military history. However, as David W. Mellott and Mark A. Snell show in *The Seventh West Virginia Infantry: An Embattled Union Regiment from the Civil War's Most Divided State*, the regimental history is far from dead.

As the preface notes, *The Seventh West Virginia Infantry* follows in the footsteps of recent and important studies by Dennis W. Brandt and Lesley J. Gordon, which illustrate how historians might craft accounts that expand the military history of the war by illuminating the social, political, and economic impact that the war had on the men who served and their families. Mellott and Snell's book is successful—to a degree—at demonstrating connections between regiment and state, and soldier, home front, and battle. At the same time, this study illustrates just how challenging this task can be.

West Virginia and her citizens provide an important case study for scholars of the Civil War because of the nuances of patriotism and loyalty on display in that state. The western counties of Virginia harbored long-standing grievances with the eastern portion of the state, stemming both from the stark contrast in slave ownership in those two sections and from “issues concerning universal male suffrage, taxation, political apportionment, and internal improvements” (p. 2). These issues, and the close social and economic ties between western Virginia and Ohio and Pennsylvania, set the backdrop for the state's divisions during the secession crisis of 1860 and 1861. But, as Mellott and Snell show, the political debates that led to the secession of the western counties of Virginia had a profound impact on the men who ultimately served in the Seventh West Virginia Infantry. The authors masterfully weave together the political and social issues that played out on the home front during the war with the intimate experiences of the men who fought and died in the Seventh West Virginia.

The Seventh West Virginia formed in the summer and fall of 1861 in response to the secession crisis. While the unit was composed of men whose

backgrounds reflected regional and ethnic diversity, the authors note, they were drawn together “by virtue of their proximity, shared Appalachian culture, and political beliefs” (p. 36). The quantitative information found throughout the book comes from an impressive database project of West Virginia’s Civil War soldiers held at the George Tyler Moore Center for the Study of the Civil War at Shepherd University, originally overseen by Snell. Involved in nearly every major engagement on the Washington-Richmond front from 1862 onward, the men of the regiment suffered immensely, losing approximately 20 percent of their number during the war. Mellott and Snell do an excellent job at showcasing the movements of the Seventh West Virginia and the experiences of the soldiers. Perhaps one of the greatest successes of this book is how the authors intricately weave the battlefield experiences of these Union soldiers together with broader military, political, and social history in a narrative that is easy to follow despite the large amounts of information.

Subtle issues in the book reflect the broader challenges faced when moving beyond traditional regimental history. The biggest issue that military historians face is the lack of qualitative information regarding the motives of soldiers and their personal reactions to the political, economic, and military events that they experienced. Thus, while quantitative information provides a snapshot of the regiment and the soldiers as the war progressed, these numbers do not necessarily yield insight into the minds of the men. For example, for a section on soldiers’ attitudes about emancipation, the authors found only a few soldiers who discussed this matter. This contentious issue was likely even more so in a border state where slavery was preserved, at least momentarily, during the war, so this reader wonders why more was not done to contextualize it. Of course, this is a problem faced by scholars of the common soldier, but it becomes acute when looking at a single regiment. Though Mellott and Snell illustrate that these issues can be remedied by developing a rich narrative linking regiment and home front, the lack of voices from average soldiers and civilians connected to this unit ultimately makes *The Seventh West Virginia Infantry* seem, at times, more like the traditional regimental history that the authors hope to move beyond.

This minor criticism aside, scholars and history buffs alike will find this book both a rich and detailed account of the Civil War service of one of the Union’s most bloodied units and an important analysis of how the politics of border states played out at home and on the battlefield.

California State University, San Bernardino

RYAN W. KEATING

A Great Sacrifice: Northern Black Soldiers, Their Families, and the Experience of Civil War. By James G. Mendez. *The North’s Civil War.* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2019. Pp. [xvi], 262. Paper, \$35.00, ISBN 978-0-8232-8249-4; cloth, \$135.00, ISBN 978-0-8232-8250-0.)

The Civil War military records preserved at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., can be dense and bureaucratic, those for the Colored Troops Division of the Adjutant General’s Office particularly so. Patient gleaning may yield gems, the most precious of which include correspondence from soldiers and their families, neighbors, and friends to government officials. In *A Great*

Sacrifice: Northern Black Soldiers, Their Families, and the Experience of Civil War, James G. Mendez describes what his examination of scores of such letters reveals about the tribulations that northern black soldiers and their loved ones endured and the triumphs that they at times celebrated.

Mendez follows a chronological approach, beginning with the eve of the fighting and continuing through 1866, by which time most black regiments had been disbanded. He classifies the correspondence into three categories: general inquiries, expressions of financial distress, and requests for discharge. He fully appreciates the consequences when fathers and sons—nearly all of whom were breadwinners—enlisted. The government's decision to cap the earnings of all black soldiers at seven dollars per month (instead of the thirteen dollars that white privates earned) only served to increase the pressure. Soldiers complained, expressing indignation over broken promises of equal treatment and shock over the government's apparent nonchalance about their families' woes. Wives and mothers plaintively narrated the adverse circumstances that warranted the discharge of their soldiers, but the War Department generally denied such pleas, claiming that the interests of the service would be ill served.

A Great Sacrifice notes the additional challenges that the families experienced due to the limitations of their letter-writing skills. Much of the surviving correspondence reflects the presence of amanuenses, or scribes, often comrades of the soldiers or literate neighbors and friends. But many an eloquent letter flowed directly from the hand of a soldier's relative. "Will you see that the colored men fighting now, are fairly treated," Hannah Johnson admonished Abraham Lincoln in July 1863 (p. 82). Johnson's son, a member of the fabled Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry, had survived the assault on Battery Wagner without being captured, but she understandably feared that the Confederates might treat black prisoners of war as insurrectionists without Lincoln's strong intervention. Especially moving were references to the "'pain of mind'" and other similar expressions of extreme distress that loved ones shared (p. 103). By war's end, when the units whose enlistments had not expired were posted to various locations throughout the occupied South and even as far as the Rio Grande border with Mexico, families' endurance often reached the point of desperation. The adjutant general received one request after another for information about the "health and whereabouts" of silent soldiers (p. 119).

For all its value as a window into an underexplored area of the black military experience during the Civil War, the book also has limitations. It approaches the subject largely through a set of records whose chronological and topical boundaries are narrow. The families of the black soldiers that Senator James H. Lane began organizing in Kansas during the summer of 1862 experienced suffering like that of the other northern-raised units, but for the first year of their service—when the pain was most acute—they lacked a Bureau of Colored Troops (established in May 1863) to hear their concerns. Other sources are necessary to round out the picture. And despite his overall sympathy with the men and their families, Mendez occasionally speculates unnecessarily about the personal and financial motives of certain actors, family members and amanuenses alike. Nonetheless, *A Great Sacrifice* offers a thought-provoking treatment of the painful trials that black soldiers

and their families contended with far from the battlefield in the dusk of slavery and at the dawn of citizenship.

Howard University

JOSEPH P. REIDY

Marketing the Blue and Gray: Newspaper Advertising and the American Civil War. By Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2019. Pp. xii, 239. \$47.00, ISBN 978-0-8071-7082-3.)

In *Marketing the Blue and Gray: Newspaper Advertising and the American Civil War*, Lawrence A. Kreiser Jr. builds on his previous work in Civil War history to bring a broad understanding of the experience of the war as embodied through print culture and consumption. In particular, the book expands on the work of Alice Fahs on the popular culture of the war years. Drawing from a substantial cache of newspaper research, Kreiser argues that merchants commercialized the war by attempting to link their products with wartime events, personalities, and headlines. In so doing, these merchants “broadened participation in the contest” (p. 171).

In six chapters, Kreiser examines the reciprocal relationship between the Civil War and advertising. Chapter 1 suggests that merchants couched consumption in patriotic terms during the war. Especially in the South, advertisements situated shopping as a political activity, one that demonstrated support for the Confederate cause. Advertisers were also quick to appropriate war-related headlines and themes, including criticism of the draft and references to Ulysses S. Grant. Next, Kreiser turns to the products that capitalized on the experience of war, including published histories of the war, maps, images of military officers, and medicinal goods. Publishers and printmakers advertised such products as offering a better understanding of the war and its participants, while patent medicine manufacturers exploited soldiers as potential customers. Chapter 3 examines advertising during the presidential elections of 1860 and 1864. Advertisements helped gauge the political atmosphere, rally support for candidates, and facilitate political gatherings, often by promoting the sale of election-themed popular culture, such as medals and pins. In these ways, ads “helped the parties to reduce their platforms to easily remembered slogans and to build a sense of political community,” while merchants commercialized the candidates, parties, and even the president’s assassination (p. 87). Here, Kreiser demonstrates the impact of advertising as a political tool and thus expands our understandings of the function of ads beyond the commercial sphere. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 examine military recruitment, slave notices, and additional product sales, respectively. In a particularly illustrative discussion, Kreiser shows how the antislavery press helped black Americans “make the transition from slavery to freedom” (p. 135).

This book shines in its impressive array of primary source research. As Kreiser points out, the commercialization of the war took place on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line, and the appearance of war-related themes in advertisements provided the public with an opportunity to participate in the war effort through consumption. Yet the book overlooks important work in this area, particularly that of T. H. Breen and Joanna Cohen, both of whom argue that consumer citizenship transformed life in the decades before the war. Reflecting

on these arguments would allow Kreiser to connect his work to a longer history of politicized consumption, enabling him to show continuity or change in the Civil War years and thus deepening his contributions to the histories of consumption and advertising. Likewise, recent work in the history of advertising, such as Wendy A. Woloson's scholarship on the Jacksonian era and Joseph M. Gabriel's work on patent medicines, would again deepen Kreiser's discussion and strengthen his contributions to these literatures. These criticisms notwithstanding, the author has compiled an expansive and illustrative picture of newspaper advertising during the Civil War. In arguing that advertisements helped facilitate the expression of political identities through consumption, the book maps important paths for future research and thus merits a wide readership among historians studying the nineteenth-century United States.

Misericordia University

JENNIFER M. BLACK

Maryland, My Maryland: Music and Patriotism during the American Civil War. By James A. Davis. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2019. Pp. xxviii, 358. \$55.00, ISBN 978-1-4962-1072-2.)

America in the nineteenth century was a particularly musical place. From folk songs and slave songs to parlor tunes, hymns, and aspiring anthems, the music of the era reflected a range of social attitudes, emerging cultural standards, and political divides. Accordingly, thoughtful analysis of music of the age is a boon to scholars with the requisite skills to effectively leverage the material for the analysis of the historical moment.

James A. Davis is a scholar of that rank, as evidenced in his previous scholarship and further demonstrated in this thoroughly researched and deeply satisfying book. Here his sole focus is the titular song "Maryland, My Maryland." Ubiquitous immediately before and throughout the Civil War, the melody provides a surprisingly effective platform, through Davis's capable analysis, for observing shifting attitudes about national identity, regionalism, class, and fealty. In spite of the book's large and lofty themes, an absorbing feature is that the details are commonly presented at a human scale. Davis has lavished attention on selecting excerpts from letters, journals, newspaper accounts, and memoirs to form what he describes as "a musical microhistory": "a study of those accidents, the seemingly random and trivial events that by themselves seem inconsequential, but when taken as a whole are seen to have shaped the future character, meaning, and function of one of the most prominent songs in American history" (pp. xviii, xxvi).

The song at the heart of Davis's book was inspired by a poem written by Marylander James Ryder Randall after the Pratt Street Riot, a melee in Baltimore that occurred the week after the battle of Fort Sumter. While transferring trains in the city, a troop of Union soldiers was attacked by a group of pro-Confederacy civilians. Cornered by the mob, the soldiers fired at the crowd. Four soldiers and twelve civilians were killed in the violent encounter, sparking outrage across the South. Randall's poem challenged Marylanders to join the Confederacy and "[a]venge the patriotic gore" of the pro-South citizens who died in the bloody exchange. It was quickly published in newspapers throughout the South to popular acclaim. So taken by the poem were the

Maryland sisters Jennie and Hetty Cary that they cast it as the lyric to a popular college glee (the melody was later popularized as the tune of the holiday song “O Tannenbaum”). “Maryland, My Maryland” was then printed and distributed by a local Baltimore music publisher. For reasons and in ways that Davis recounts, the song was immediately popular, particularly in the southern states.

Davis writes that the song “was adopted as one of a handful of Southern anthems, even though it celebrated a state that never joined the Confederacy” (p. xvii). Indeed, the fact that a song so central to the Confederacy was in fact a rallying cry to a state that failed to formally ally itself with the rebel cause is the central paradox of the book. Geography, demographics, and dual political alliances kept Maryland in the Union. And yet, as Davis effectively argues, in lieu of involvement of the actual state, the Maryland of the song became the symbol of an imaginary, idealized South—even as it became something of a point of parody for those supporting the Union. The song’s resulting fluidity is charted throughout the book’s chapters, as the song and its namesake state serve as metaphor and microcosm of the tragically contradictory ideas and attitudes that nearly destroyed the nation. Moving chronologically through the Civil War years, Davis’s book meticulously explores the song’s origins, reception, use, and reuse, detailing the tension between the nation’s love of a good melody and its conflicting ideas of what constitutes a good cause.

Williams College

STEPHANIE DUNSON

Confederate Generals in the Trans-Mississippi. Volume 3: *Essays on America’s Civil War*. Edited by Lawrence Lee Hewitt and Thomas E. Schott. Foreword by Daniel E. Sutherland. *The Western Theater in the Civil War*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2019. Pp. xxiv, 374. \$64.95, ISBN 978-1-62190-454-0.)

Lawrence Lee Hewitt and Thomas E. Schott have produced a third and final volume in their excellent series on Confederate generalship in the trans-Mississippi theater. The first two volumes—published in 2013 and 2015 and spearheaded by the late Arthur W. Bergeron—explore the lives of a host of Confederate generals who have collectively attracted as much criticism from some modern historians as they did from their contemporaries. Some of this critique was quite warranted indeed, but at the heart of these volumes lies a more nuanced and careful appraisal. Among the greatest strengths of all three volumes of *Confederate Generals in the Trans-Mississippi* is how rebel commanders on the western edge of the Confederate South are carefully placed in proper situational and political contexts. This latest installment reflects the strengths of the first two volumes splendidly by bringing eight fine essays about both well-known and obscure generals who plied their trade west of the Mississippi River. Taken as a whole, these volumes serve as yet more evidence that underscores the reality that the trans-Mississippi West, though on the geographical edge of the Confederacy, fits squarely and deservedly in the center of Civil War historiography.

The volume’s first contributions examine the motivations and careers of two examples of inept Confederate leadership west of the Mississippi River. First, General Earl Van Dorn was among the most maligned commanders of the war,

especially in the trans-Mississippi theater. His wartime career path from capable administrator and effective cavalry commander in 1861 to dismal performer as army commander in 1862 reflects the complexity inherent in even the most troubled commands. Ultimately, however, Joseph G. Dawson III shows that Van Dorn's loss at the battle of Pea Ridge in March 1862, coupled by other failures, relegates the commander into the "lower one-quarter" of Confederate generals in the Confederate South (p. 25). Much like Van Dorn, General Hamilton Prioleau Bee earned an exceedingly poor reputation due to command ineptitude, albeit on a less publicized stage. As Richard H. Holloway makes clear, Bee's poor performance in the Red River campaign—namely, his panic and retreat at Monett's Ferry—stained his wartime career and sentenced him to years of postwar fighting to mend his status.

In sharp contrast to Van Dorn and Bee, General James Fleming Fagan, as Stuart W. Sanders contends, was among the finest Confederate generals in the trans-Mississippi. Sanders's essay helps clarify and revive Fagan's leadership ability. Sanders places Fagan's missteps at Pilot Knob, Missouri, and Marks' Mills, Arkansas, during the war—and his Republican scalawagery after it—in context of his otherwise solid leadership. Jeffery S. Prushankin similarly gives General Edmund Kirby Smith his proper due. Prushankin illuminates the corrosive nature of command politics in the trans-Mississippi by the second half of the war by examining the high hopes and ultimate despondency of one of the more promising Confederate generals. Kirby Smith's Trans-Mississippi Department was falling to pieces by 1863. Indeed, Prushankin makes clear, the "constant demands of politicians and the carping of his subordinates," atop gloomy prospects against the enemy, proved too much for Kirby Smith to handle and reflected the complications inherent in the Confederate command structure west of the Mississippi (p. 116).

Holloway's second essay provides a look into the stymied career of William Robertson Boggs and his actions in Louisiana. Boggs had a great deal of potential and an impressive resume before 1861, but, as Holloway shows, the general was attached to Kirby Smith's staff and never saw significant direct leadership until the very end of the war in Louisiana. Thomas Green had a quite different career. Curtis Milbourn's chapter on Green examines the commander's ascension to command success that ranked him among the top Confederate cavalry commanders in the West. The focus of Paul R. Scott's essay is the successful cavalry commander John Austin Wharton, who was much like Green. Despite Wharton's clear success and leadership abilities, Scott makes clear that Wharton's relative obscurity stems from both his lack of interest in self-aggrandizement and the lack of family memorialization after the war (Wharton died in 1865). Holloway's third essay in the volume is also the book's last, and it focuses on one of the least-known actions led by one of the trans-Mississippi's best-known commanders: Richard Taylor. Holloway details Taylor's failed attempt to move Confederate troops east of the Mississippi in the last year of the war through the lens of contemporary records from 1864, overlaid by Taylor's memories of the event from 1879. The result is a fitting end to a series intent on placing trans-Mississippi Confederate generals in proper context and perspective.

Hewitt and Schott's final volume is a success, and the three-volume series should serve as a foundational source for understanding the highest level of

Confederate leadership west of the Mississippi River. These volumes provide even more evidence that the trans-Mississippi was never a historical—and should never be a historiographical—backwater of the Civil War. To this end, scholars of the Civil War as a whole, not just those who study the war on the west side of the Mississippi, would be well served to heed the essays in all three volumes of *Confederate Generals in the Trans-Mississippi*.

University of Texas at Tyler

MATTHEW M. STITH

Private Confederacies: The Emotional Worlds of Southern Men as Citizens and Soldiers. By James J. Broomall. Civil War America. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019. Pp. xiv, 226. Paper, \$29.95, ISBN 978-1-4696-5198-9; cloth, \$90.00, ISBN 978-1-4696-4975-7.)

In *Private Confederacies: The Emotional Worlds of Southern Men as Citizens and Soldiers*, James J. Broomall takes readers into the emotional worlds of white southern men who were raised in the antebellum South, fought and lived through the Civil War, and confronted its consequences. Broomall “seeks to understand how the American Civil War, emancipation, and Reconstruction affected the personal lives, emotional expressions, and gender identities of white Southern men” (p. 2). In the process, he identifies “models of expression white Southerners employed to understand and convey personal change, civil war, and social reconstruction” (p. 154).

Confederate men, Broomall argues, were raised in an antebellum society with strict expectations for white male public personas; men simultaneously suppressed their emotions publicly and conveyed them privately. When these men became soldiers, their sense of independent, self-directed manhood conflicted with the authoritarian nature of military service; they were confounded by the altered material culture of camp life; and their expectations of glorious battlefield sacrifices were destroyed by battle’s deadly realities. Struggling to comprehend war, these men formed “emotional communities composed of fellow soldiers” upon whom they relied for support (p. 2). War’s end brought an array of raw emotions, ranging from relief to rage to depression, and returning soldiers embraced different models of manhood as they reentered civilian society. Some men returned to their prewar occupations and “practiced a restrained manliness” centered on the household (p. 107). Other veterans transformed “the martial manhood and soldier communities forged in civil war . . . into tools to suppress freed peoples through paramilitary organizations and the Ku Klux Klan” (p. 7). Civil war, Broomall argues, “changed Southern men, altered their familial and personal relationships, and widened their means of self-expression” (p. 154).

In keeping with recent trends in periodization, *Private Confederacies* traces cultural change from the 1840s through the 1870s. It joins a growing literature that reexamines ordinary soldiers’ experiences, such as Peter S. Carmichael’s recent book *The War for the Common Soldier: How Men Thought, Fought, and Survived in Civil War Armies* (Chapel Hill, 2018), and is part of a historiographical move to understand the emotional underpinnings and experiences of the sectional crisis, seen in, for example, Stephen W. Berry’s *All That Makes a Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South* (New York, 2003) and Michael

E. Woods's *Emotional and Sectional Conflict in the Antebellum United States* (New York, 2014). *Private Confederacies* is organized both chronologically and thematically, tracing men's transitions from antebellum civilians to soldiers to veteran civilians. It begins with a chapter that describes the antebellum emotional landscapes of white southern men before turning to chapters that consider men's experiences of becoming soldiers, battle, demobilization, reconstruction, and the extralegal violence of the Reconstruction era.

Private Confederacies focuses on the Army of Northern Virginia, drawing primarily on diaries, letters, and memoirs written by members of slaveholding families who documented their experiences and emotions. Broomall acknowledges that this study does not portray a representative sample of "typical" soldiers but rather embraces "the exceptional importance of slaveholding Confederates as vital to the understanding of war and peace in the American South" (p. 6). Although *Private Confederacies* privileges individuals' stories, Broomall illustrates broader patterns in white southern culture by exploring the dialectic between men's public and private experiences. His identification of models of emotional expression and use of history of emotions methodologies help open future lines of historical inquiry that transcend this particular study's class and geographic limits.

One of the book's most important contributions is its consideration of emotions' role after defeat and during Reconstruction on both public and private scales. For example, *Private Confederacies* makes a compelling case for considering gender and emotions in efforts to understand the Ku Klux Klan, showing how Confederate soldier communities created during the war underpinned the formation of many Klan orders and how men wielded "[e]motional reactions and potent feelings" to regain white political power and control African Americans laborers (p. 151).

Private Confederacies demonstrates that the Civil War and Reconstruction were not only national transformations but also "personal processes that shaped gender, emotions, and Southern identity" (p. 11). Memorable historical actors, engaging prose, and a compelling portrayal of white southern men's emotional worlds make Broomall's *Private Confederacies* a highly readable and important volume for students and scholars of the nineteenth-century United States.

National Museum of American History,
Smithsonian Institution

SARAH JONES WEICKSEL

Illusions of Emancipation: The Pursuit of Freedom and Equality in the Twilight of Slavery. By Joseph P. Reidy. Littlefield History of the Civil War Era. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019. Pp. [xii], 506. \$39.95, ISBN 978-1-4696-4836-1.)

To the casual student of American history, it might seem that the story of emancipation is simple and straightforward. As John Adams might have put it, Abraham Lincoln smote the earth with his pen and out sprang Generals Ulysses S. Grant and William T. Sherman, and the three of them freed the slaves. Scholars, of course, have long known that emancipation was neither simple nor straightforward, and Joseph P. Reidy's *Illusions of Emancipation: The Pursuit of Freedom and Equality in the Twilight of Slavery* makes abundantly clear just how halting and messy that process actually was.

In this wide-ranging and extensively researched study, Reidy captures the fluidity and confusion surrounding emancipation between 1861 and 1865. Freedom came in a variety of ways. Some slaves emancipated themselves by escaping to Union armies or to Union-controlled territory; others' Jubilee came via the flaming sword of victorious Union armies, while still others gained their freedom incidentally when their owners abandoned them or the government that permitted their enslavement withered away. However emancipation occurred, Reidy shows that it was rarely a linear process moving inexorably from slavery to freedom. In many parts of the southern and border states, slavery existed, vanished, and reemerged repeatedly as armies advanced or retreated and as civilians—both black and white—fled and returned to their homes as the fighting around them ebbed and flowed. Conditions were especially chaotic in the border states and in those parts of the Confederacy under Union control when the Emancipation Proclamation was issued. In law, slavery remained a legitimate institution in these regions. In fact, however, its viability was often compromised, and neither slaves nor their putative owners could always be certain what the reality of their condition was.

Chronologically, *Illusions of Emancipation* is tightly focused on the war years. The epilogue does briefly consider the course of Reconstruction, but Reidy's focus is clearly on the years 1861–1865 and the wartime experiences of enslaved African Americans. Topically and geographically, however, the book ranges widely. It describes the experiences of men, women, and children; those who escaped slavery as well as those who remained; black soldiers and sailors as well as their families; workers conscripted or hired by the armies; and, to a lesser extent, free people of color. It also shows the variety of experiences seen in different regions of the country and describes the striking differences between what happened in border states, in the Confederate States, and in Union-occupied regions of the latter. Reidy also moves smoothly between macro and micro history. He describes the lengthy political battles between idealists and pragmatists as they debated the nature and timing of emancipation, but he also captures in intimate vignettes exactly what emancipation brought and did not bring to enslaved African Americans.

Perhaps the only weakness in *Illusions of Emancipation* is its structure. The book is organized in three sections that consider the “overlapping frameworks” of time, space, and home (p. 16). This organization does provide an alternative to a strictly chronological or topical approach, but it also means that elements of the story are sometimes divided in awkward ways. Consideration of black sailors in the Union navy, for example, falls into two different chapters dealing with a different aspect of space. The organizational method also results, at times, in unnecessary repetition as individuals or incidents described in one chapter are introduced again in later chapters.

That, however, is a minor quibble. *Illusions of Emancipation* is a readable, comprehensive account of the success and the shortcomings of the long campaign to abolish slavery in the United States. It reminds readers how incomplete the process was in 1865 and how many shadows of slavery remain today.

Virginia Tech

DANIEL B. THORP

Ending the Civil War and Consequences for Congress. Edited by Paul Finkelman and Donald R. Kennon. Perspectives on the History of Congress, 1801–1877. (Athens: Published by Ohio University Press for the United States Capitol Historical Society, 2019. Pp. vi, 165. \$35.00, ISBN 978-0-8214-2337-0.)

The title of this short essay collection, *Ending the Civil War and Consequences for Congress*, is both awkwardly worded (perhaps “Congress and the Consequences of the Civil War” might have worked better) and inaccurate, since connections to Congress are tenuous in several essays, though the collection is part of a series on the history of Congress under the general editorship of Donald R. Kennon. These, however, are minor concerns that should not detract from the enjoyment and usefulness of these essays.

Carole Emberton examines the distribution of Freedmen’s Bureau rations to the hungry people of the South, both black and white, as well as the ideologies and myths that hobbled the distribution of this aid and fueled opposition to the bureau’s efforts. Lorien Foote provides an eye-opening discussion of the chaos that attended the repatriation of Union prisoners of war from the Confederacy. Lack of planning and communication between Union and Confederate generals and civil authorities resulted in more death and suffering from disease and hunger, on top of what the prisoners had already endured in Confederate camps, and contributed to the catastrophic explosion of the steamboat *Sultana*, carrying freed prisoners home in May 1865. As often as the hardships of prisoners were invoked by postwar politicians, it is remarkable how difficult it was in later years for former prisoners to wrest aid and compensation from Congress. Jenny Bourne provides a quantitative overview of the postbellum American economy with an emphasis on the booming economy that left behind the poor, the formerly enslaved, and the entire South (in her perhaps overdramatic words, a “wasteland” in the postwar decades [p. 39]). Anne Sarah Rubin offers an analysis of the cultural and intellectual afterlife of William T. Sherman’s March to the Sea. She concentrates on periods of public debate surrounding later American military conflicts, such as the Philippine insurrection and the Vietnam War, when Sherman’s supposed conduct was invoked either to justify or to condemn the conduct of the soldiers of one nation or another.

The bulk of this brief volume is made up of the three essays concerning the Fourteenth Amendment. Paul Finkelman’s focus is the first section of the amendment, which deals with rights and is still hotly debated. Could white men of the 1860s, given prevalent racism, conceivably have envisioned that section 1 would guarantee racial equality? Many historians in recent years have answered in the negative, but Finkelman disagrees, basing his argument, in part, on a biographical study of leading Fourteenth Amendment framers Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and John A. Bingham of Ohio, who were relative racial progressives. The newly passed Black Codes in the ex-Confederate states, Finkelman argues, convinced even moderate Republicans that federal protection was needed to prevent ex-Confederates from returning the formerly enslaved to a condition of near-bondage, which would negate Union victory and make a mockery of its costs. Peter Wallenstein’s focus is on section 2 of the

Fourteenth Amendment, which, unlike section 1, has little contemporary relevance. Section 2 dealt with the notorious (and often misunderstood) three-fifths clause of the Constitution and how representation would be apportioned in a postslavery world, which Wallenstein convincingly argues was to many Republicans a more pressing concern than personal rights. The Republican compromise was to offer southern states full representation (counting black and white people equally in apportionment, and thus giving southern states more representation than they had had before the Civil War), only if they fully enfranchised African American citizens. Denial of the vote to African Americans would result in those citizens not being counted at all—thus radically reducing southern representation. All ex-Confederate states but Tennessee chose racial control over greater representation and rejected the amendment, leading to the years of so-called Radical Reconstruction. William E. Nelson continues the discussion of the Fourteenth Amendment with an essay linking the amendment to the decline of “popular constitutionalism,” in which a constitution is reinterpreted as popular views change, sometimes in accord with “higher law” and natural law doctrines (pp. 135, 137). Fearing anti-Reconstruction backlash, Republicans leaned toward regarding the Reconstruction amendments as, in Nelson’s words, “permanent codification of their values” that would remain enshrined in the text of the Constitution, regardless of changing popular views and changing political situations (p. 143).

The collection ends with journalist and historian Clay Risen’s all-too-brief comparison of the Civil War centennial and recent sesquicentennial commemorations, a piece that could have benefited from greater attention to popular culture as well as evolving interpretations of Civil War historians, which greatly influenced how both events were conducted. Still, for such a small book, *Ending the Civil War and Consequences for Congress* provides useful, thought-provoking analysis as well as some new material.

University of Virginia Bookstore

R. SCOTT BURNET

United States Reconstruction across the Americas. Edited by William A. Link. Frontiers of the American South. (Gainesville and other cities: University Press of Florida, 2019. Pp. [x], 124. \$34.95, ISBN 978-0-8130-5641-8.)

The outcome of the American Civil War extended citizenship and increased federal intervention in the U.S. South. American emancipation and the struggles of black people for freedom and justice were interconnected by dissimilar but knotted historical processes. This collection of essays addresses the entanglements between American Reconstruction and the social and political milieus developing in countries as diverse as Brazil, Mexico, and Jamaica. The contributors to *United States Reconstruction across the Americas* follow the pioneering works of W. E. B. Du Bois, Eric Foner, and Steven Hahn, who framed U.S. developments within an Atlantic perspective. Editor William A. Link contends that “Reconstruction, with all its implication for national self-identity, cannot be understood unless we extend our analysis beyond national borders” (p. 3).

In his chapter “The Legacies of the Second Slavery: The Cotton and Coffee Economies of the United States and Brazil during the Reconstruction Era,

1865–1904.” Rafael Marquese argues that the eradication of slavery in the American South affected Brazilian coffee planters’ behavior toward labor regulation. São Paulo landowners learned from the labor transition experience in the United States and were able to control the transition of their workforce from slave to free through the *colonato*, a system that preserved certain features of labor organization and agriculture management prevalent under the slave regime while using a free workforce. The *colonato* and the expansion of the railway system permitted greater labor exploitation in Brazil than the alternatives available to cotton planters in the former Confederacy, and *paulista* farmers maintained higher levels of profitability. In this way, former slaveholders during Brazil’s First Republic (1889–1930) were able to keep federal government support for their endeavors, whereas former Confederates lost influence over state action as a consequence of their military defeat. Radical Reconstruction had dramatic consequences for controlling the intensity and rhythm of the labor in the southern workforce.

Don H. Doyle analyzes Mexican-American relations during the French occupation of Mexico and the Maximilian empire. As the Civil War depleted American resources, U.S. influence in Latin America was temporarily weakened. Taking advantage of the temporary lapse in the Monroe Doctrine to forward France’s Grand Design, Napoleon III intervened in Mexico to install Maximilian of Austria as emperor. At the end of the Civil War, U.S. secretary of state William H. Seward formulated what the author denominates as a “new pro-republican iteration of the Monroe Doctrine,” emerging in support of Mexican republicans during the War of the Reform. This action drew attention to the hemispheric entanglements that characterized the 1860s as a turbulent decade of crisis. By abandoning direct intervention, Seward and President Andrew Johnson engaged in a struggle against both the French and the Confederate presence in Mexico, while simultaneously endorsing a new U.S. strategy to deal with Mexican nationalists. “During his eight years as secretary of state,” Doyle writes, “Seward continued to voice Whiggish confidence in the inevitable spread of republican ideals and ‘institutions’” (p. 48). Seward’s crusade discarded practices common to pre-Civil War supporters of manifest destiny, which had emphasized “conquest and acquisition of territory,” in favor of a softer approach to foreign affairs (p. 48). Through the lens of anti-imperialism, this move advanced the struggle against both French interventionists and Confederate exiles.

Edward B. Rugemer discusses the Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica and reactions to it in different sectors of U.S. society. This chapter deals with entanglements in the public sphere that “allow historians to formulate an Atlantic history of slavery’s abolition that recognizes both the distinctions of political context and the cumulative dimensions of slavery’s demise” (p. 83). Taking as his point of departure Jürgen Habermas’s distinction between periods of “opinion formation” and “will formation,” Rugemer reveals how coverage of repression in Jamaica shaped public opinion in the United States in ways that reinforced perception of the fragility of southern emancipation and also strengthened former slaves and their radical Republican allies in their aim to protect the autonomy of African Americans (p. 82). Will formation was expressed through the establishment of progressive legislation, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1866.

This project responds to the global turn in U.S. historiography, a trend that has come later for the Reconstruction era than for other periods of U.S. history. This short book is very informative, additionally providing a survey of comparative and transnational scholarship that will help readers through the challenges of the period.

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro

VITOR IZECKSOHN

Black Huntington: An Appalachian Story. By Cicero M. Fain III. (Urbana and other cities: University of Illinois Press, 2019. Pp. xviii, 244. Paper, \$27.95, ISBN 978-0-252-08442-3; cloth, \$110.00, ISBN 978-0-252-04259-1.)

In *Black Huntington: An Appalachian Story*, historian Cicero M. Fain III offers an engaging account of African American community formation that intersects with histories of labor, activism, and capitalism. Fain depicts Huntington, West Virginia, situated on the Ohio River and bordering the states of Kentucky and Ohio, as a borderland that shaped the experiences of slavery, freedom, and emancipation. Yet at the same time, Fain shows how African Americans worked within these circumstances to advance capitalist development, to fight for racial equality, and to build lasting institutions.

As a setting for Fain's study, Huntington's location is crucial. The Ohio River and the city's proximity to free Ohio made Huntington an important crossing for self-emancipated slaves. After slavery, the riverside location and the importance of the railroad enabled the industrializing city to grow into a regional powerhouse. These qualities made Huntington an attractive destination for black migrants, many of whom came to the region from Virginia to find work.

Throughout the first part of the book, Fain demonstrates the continuing importance of black labor in the advancement of capitalism after the Civil War. Black West Virginians worked alongside Irish and Italian immigrants to complete the dangerous work of building the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad through the region. The railroad's completion ignited industrialization, connecting the region's coal mines to Richmond, Virginia. Though job options remained somewhat limited, working-class African Americans adjusted to their new urban setting and became an important part of the workforce. African American men worked in various positions on the railroad and in the region's coal mines that catalyzed the country's growing economy after the Civil War. Opportunities for women were more confined. In many cases, Fain shows, black women could find work mainly in domestic occupations.

Fain's choice to center his study on Huntington is also important for his larger historiographical contribution. *Black Huntington* joins a growing literature that is broadening our understanding of slavery and especially Reconstruction by examining areas outside the Deep South. Fain's setting changes the accepted narrative in significant ways. The author demonstrates how black Huntingtonians navigated emancipation without the aid of federal Reconstruction. Without federal protection, and with a relatively small population, black West Virginians could not look toward electoral politics to combat inequality. Instead they created newspapers, joined fraternal organizations, and bought real estate to advance their claims on citizenship. Black Huntingtonians also established schools for black

children, including the high school that educated the future historian Carter G. Woodson. Fain shows how, in the years after slavery, African Americans in Huntington defined the contours of their own freedom and built lasting institutions from the ground up.

While Fain's study of Huntington is a fine addition to the fields of African American history, economic development, and the history of labor, it would have been helpful if he included a concluding chapter that placed the city in the context of the nation or the region. The wider implications of Fain's work are present in the pages of his book, but it would be illuminating to read the author's thoughts on how his story changes or adds to our understanding of the larger themes he engages with. This quibble aside, Fain's book is a well-written account that documents an area often overlooked in studies of slavery, Reconstruction, and the struggle for racial equality.

Virginia Tech

DENNIS PATRICK HALPIN

Wild Rose: The Life and Times of Victor Marion Rose, Poet and Early Historian of Texas. By Louise S. O'Connor. Clayton Wheat Williams Texas Life Series. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2018. Pp. xx, 176. \$30.00, ISBN 978-1-62349-675-3.)

In his eventful life, Victor Marion Rose penned books of poetry and Texas history and edited newspapers, and this biography by Louise S. O'Connor seeks to establish Rose's place in the pantheon of southern writers. O'Connor's project is deeply personal and richly researched. Rose's descendant, she often cites her own archive of his works alongside interviews with fellow family members. She paints a nuanced portrait of a man whose flowery pen got him into and out of scrapes but who, O'Connor insists, "was one of the few people that could write about the times from an insider's perspective" (p. 14). *Wild Rose: The Life and Times of Victor Marion Rose, Poet and Early Historian of Texas* positions Rose as an important witness to key events in Texas history, from the Civil War and the end of slavery to the shift from farming to ranching.

Rose was born into an influential slave-owning Texas family in 1842. Given the backdrop of what O'Connor calls the "honor system of the south," which she associates with "courage, strength, and violence (when necessary)," Rose was an anomaly more interested in poetry than in outdoor pursuits (pp. 29, 7). Yet in one of the many paradoxes of his life, he left college to fight for the Confederate army. Later, as he forged a career in letters and newspaper editing, he also was an alcoholic and womanizer. O'Connor at times struggles to balance her desire to venerate Rose as an underappreciated writer with the plain and sometimes unsavory facts of his biography.

Wild Rose is most valuable as a work of Texas history. Rose's life encapsulates many of the singular circumstances of nineteenth-century Texas. Descended from English immigrants, Rose encountered people of Mexican, German, Native American, and African American descent throughout his career. He lived through many of the state's most tumultuous times and chronicled them as a historian and poet. The book is also an instructive lesson in nineteenth-century print cultures. As Rose flitted between literary genres and media after the Civil War, readers see the product of a century in which

new technologies and advancements in education made books and newspapers proliferate, even in locations far from the traditional U.S. centers of publication.

O'Connor's biography is less successful when it attempts to gloss broad social movements, such as the Old South and its racism. When Rose writes an African American character speaking in dialect, O'Connor explains that he does it "not only for humor but as a protection for his own, at times, unpopular ideas" (p. 75). Elsewhere O'Connor describes a piece in which Rose uses "'watermelon eating and google-eyed' descriptions of blacks," before assuring her readers that "[h]e went on to rise above this take later" (p. 97). Rose's abusive treatment of women is similarly acknowledged but shrugged away, as O'Connor writes that Rose "was seemingly attracted to women apparently not imbued with the ethics" he praised in his writing (p. 9). The author seems to want to have it both ways: Rose is depicted as both entrenched in his times and transgressive of them. One wishes that, instead of insisting on Rose's exceptionalism, O'Connor had acknowledged how paradoxical yet typical many of Rose's opinions were.

University of Kent

JILLIAN SPIVEY CADDELL

Southern Women in the Progressive Era: A Reader. Edited by Giselle Roberts and Melissa Walker. Foreword by Marjorie J. Spruill. Women's Diaries and Letters of the South. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2019). Pp. xiv, 364. \$59.99, ISBN 978-1-61117-925-5.)

In *Southern Women in the Progressive Era: A Reader*, editors Giselle Roberts and Melissa Walker use selected diary entries and letters to explore the changing attitudes and prejudices of southern women pertaining to gender, race, class, and politics in the Progressive era. Progressivism in the South developed in the shadow of both New South ideals and the Lost Cause. Therefore, these women's thoughts and deeds were a mix of scientific racism, political liberalism, and economic reform. Roberts and Walker maintain that the opportunities presented to these women through education and women's clubs provided a new avenue for their public growth and the development of differing interpretations of southern womanhood.

The chapters are organized in three sections, which focus on activism, industrialization, and woman suffrage in the South. Each section contains short biographies of activist women, written by contributors, followed by primary source materials that illustrate the theme of each chapter. Part 1, "Activists in the Making," features Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Mary Lee Cagle. Collectively, these women sought educational advancements and opportunities for all women regardless of race or class. Their words illuminate how access to education made a difference in the lives of southern women's Progressive thought. Roberts and Walker artfully weave these biographical sketches throughout each chapter, encouraging the reader to understand, sympathize, or criticize these Progressive leaders' actions. As Priscilla Pope-Levison writes of Cagle, these women "drew inspiration from a progressive world that found women 'slowly but surely pressing their way to the front'" (p. 91). It is evident in their letters and diaries that Breckinridge, Bethune, and Cagle knew that they were living in exciting and changing times

and welcomed it, but they still had a lagging conflict of romanticizing the comforts of the past.

Part 2, "A New Southern Workforce," focuses on the impact that the New South's economic changes had on the lives of southern women, including the devastating effects of the "stretch out" system in textile mills (p. 114). The primary sources included in this section illustrate how the work that southern women performed for wages influenced and shaped every aspect of their lives. The most interesting chapter in this section contains medical reports from Florida nurses. These selections vividly describe the daunting tasks of treating and preventing hookworm, polio, and tuberculosis in the face of heartbreaking poverty. Due to societal norms, many female Progressive leaders often held racist and condescending attitudes toward those they were attempting to aid. One of the most progressive elements of the Florida sanatoriums was that "in Florida black and white nurses worked together, and in collaboration with clubwomen, to deliver a surprisingly inclusive service to its rural communities" (p. 184). Christine Ardalan asserts that white Progressive-era reformers were dedicated to improving public health but also claimed scientific racist justifications to explain why some communities were plagued by disease and poverty.

Part 3, "Regional Commentators," features the suffrage activities of Mary Poppenheim, Louisa Poppenheim, Mary Johnston, and Corra White Harris. The authors of these chapters use editorials, correspondence, and speeches written by these suffragists to depict contradictions in Progressive thought, specifically that suffrage and political representation for women were of paramount concern but universal racial suffrage was not. White women's suffrage crusade, "like much of southern Progressivism, was an uneasy mix of regional reform and racism" (p. 179). Race dictated the limits of suffrage in the South. The inclusion of Harris's editorial "A Southern Woman's View" (1899), which centered on the racist assumption that the lack of character among black women justified their exclusion from suffrage, illustrates this point. Even though race was the loudest concern, Lisa A. Francavilla asserts that the southern antisuffrage campaign was also concerned that the emergence of women voting would change "the whole concept of home" (p. 279).

Overall, *Southern Women in the Progressive Era* has an excellent fluidity between the primary source selections, which immediately engage the reader with the events and the main characters. The editors include an extensive forty-six pages of endnotes and index material from numerous archival collections, which creates a blueprint for future research opportunities to add to this growing scholarship. These primary sources, accented with photographs, have been blended together to detail the stories of personal tragedy, economic hardship, and personal conviction of these southern women and their regions. The editors and their contributors focus on retelling individual experiences as they relate to the interdependence between myth, ethnicity, and local history. Roberts and Walker provide a valuable addition to both southern and women's history, which illuminates the Progressive movement and the relationships that crossed and conflicted with societal norms and racial stereotypes.

University of North Texas

M. COURTNEY WELCH

Age of Fear: Othering and American Identity during World War I. By Zachary Smith. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019. Pp. xiv, 233. \$59.95, ISBN 978-1-4214-2727-0.)

In *Age of Fear: Othering and American Identity during World War I*, Zachary Smith argues that the portrayal of German Americans as racial and cultural others during World War I by dominant white, Anglo-Saxon Americans was based on fears about the nation's power in an era of immigration, Social Darwinism, racism, and imperialism. Politicians, policy makers, editors, bureaucrats, and religious leaders cast German people in Europe and German Americans as dangerous, barbaric others in order to bolster the case for the United States' engagement in the war. Rank-and-file white people responded. "To many white Americans," Smith notes, "urgent calls for sacrifice, civic engagement, and conformity were necessary because the conflict was a war of self-defense that required Anglo-Saxons to reassert their power and identity" (p. 3). With substantive research and multiple source examples from speeches, pamphlets, reports, and popular media such as editorial cartoons, Smith organizes the book into thematic chapters that reflect the dominant intellectual and cultural messages about Germans before, during, and after the war and includes an epilogue on the legacy of these early-twentieth-century ideas and events.

In chapter 1 the author locates the creation of the German racialized other in two perceived crises of the military preparedness movement before the United States entered the conflict: a decline in white masculinity and diminishing national power. Fictional invasion scenarios with apocalyptic endings and negative examples of purportedly unprepared nations, including China and Mexico, fueled anti-German preparedness activities with universal military training for young men as the remedy. Chapter 2 chronicles the creation of an enemy German other in the wartime United States. Smith traces the connections between popular opinion and editorial and political propaganda at work in that creation, drawing on stories of spies, prewar stereotypes, and nativism to conclude that "World War I offered Anglo-Saxon Americans an opportunity to redirect their lingering paranoia over the influx of Europe's transient and allegedly radical laboring class onto a more specific target" (p. 47). Chapter 3 develops the subsequent propaganda war on home-front German Americans and German culture by the Committee on Public Information and vigilante groups, such as the American Protective League, and through the Espionage and Sedition Acts. Smith concludes that vigilantes wanted to protect their homes and communities but also their Anglo-Saxon, white identities. A missed opportunity in this chapter is the absence of a discussion of the federal government's registration of some 500,000 noncitizen German men and women as so-called enemy aliens in 1918.

In the fourth chapter, Smith addresses the supposed regression of Germans into a barbaric Prussianized militarism that called into question Germans' whiteness in an imperialist age. The links between rape and racial decline or racial inferiority in propaganda about German men and black American men stand out here. Chapter 5 continues this analysis with a focus on Christian nationalism and propaganda that defined the conflict as an American Protestant Christian crusade, including Billy Sunday's depiction of the war as a battle of

muscular Christians against a satanic German enemy other with world redemption as the successful outcome. In the epilogue, Smith traces the rapid transition from targeting German enemy others to anti-Bolshevism and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan with a brief discussion of the othering of Muslim Americans after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks.

Smith provides a convincing study of the context and wartime processes that contributed to anti-German ideas and actions and makes important contributions to the historiography. His narrative of the consequential intellectual and cultural onslaught against Germans and German Americans will inform scholars and students alike.

Western Oregon University

KIMBERLY JENSEN

Black Food Geographies: Race, Self-Reliance, and Food Access in Washington, D.C. By Ashanté M. Reese. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019. Pp. xx, 162. Paper, \$22.95, ISBN 978-1-4696-5150-7; cloth, \$90.00, ISBN 978-1-4696-5149-1.)

There is a presumption embedded in scholarly and public debates around the black freedom struggle that black people who fled the South during the Great Migration left behind their agrarian roots for urban jobs in the North. Yet in *Black Food Geographies: Race, Self-Reliance, and Food Access in Washington, D.C.*, Ashanté M. Reese effectively argues that many black people who fled north, to places like the Washington, D.C., neighborhood of Deanwood, used their agrarian roots as a way to build community and self-reliance, meet their food needs, and navigate antiblackness across time and space. Although southern agrarianism perpetuated the subjugation of black people, northern black people transposed farming skills used in southern agriculture, Reese argues, “to cultivate a multifaceted foodscape . . . [T]he same skills that were associated with subjugation were used as liberation tools” (p. 25).

Deanwood’s multifaceted foodscape (community gardens, small farms, corner grocery outlets, community food markets) is the space where Reese maps and narrates how residents created alternative food systems steeped in a history of black food provision. Reese traces this history to the Reconstruction era when black people began purchasing land in what is now Deanwood and relates how it continues today. To recover this history, Reese eloquently weaves together spatial, historical, and structural analyses along with ethnographic methods to show how urban black people navigated racial and economic segregation against a backdrop of the rise and decline of supermarkets. She uses urban grocery store phenomena as an entry point to understand and document “the nuances of food consumption, production, and access in everyday life” in Deanwood, while simultaneously speaking to other black urban neighborhoods across the United States (p. 112).

Throughout the pages of *Black Food Geographies*, Reese incorporates local Washington newspapers, maps, and oral histories of Deanwood residents that are in the papers of local historian Ruth Ann Overbeck and housed at the George Washington University library. Reese triangulates these sources with data generated from participant observation, interviews, and surveys to

seamlessly move between macro- and micro-level analyses. Her macro analyses interrogate the production of unequal food conditions, and her micro analyses examine how residents navigate such racialized conditions. Even though these investigations do not interrogate the role of the state in unequal food systems, Reese illustrates how state-sanctioned conditions impact the everyday lives of black people.

Black Food Geographies illuminates the role of black people as agents in history rather than as passive participants at the whim of sociopolitical and economic forces that sustain racial hierarchies. It reveals their past and present agency in the production of food in everyday life, an often-overlooked area in scholarship on southern agricultural history and the black freedom struggle. Even in scholarly and public conversations on urban agriculture today, this history is virtually nonexistent. Reese demonstrates that there is more to study in the history of black people, and she shows that food in everyday life is a key component of this history. She also speaks to how scholars can bridge the gap between the past and the present to understand the future of black lives.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

BOBBY J. SMITH II

Taking Flight: The Foundations of American Commercial Aviation, 1918–1938.

By M. Houston Johnson V. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2019. Pp. xii, 287. \$45.00, ISBN 978-1-62349-721-7.)

In our contemporary commercial air travel system, many have had the stressful experience of standing in long lines at airports to pass through security checkpoints, waiting at crowded gates to board flights, and hoping flights are not delayed. We endure sitting in uncomfortable and cramped seats on passenger planes for long periods of flight time. Our experience is different from the halcyon days when flying on passenger planes was a fun and exciting adventure. While passengers had to endure a different set of challenges, such as flying below rain clouds in unpressurized planes or listening to the drone of propeller-driven engines, air travel still retained its appeal. Regardless of one's experience, a large question always loomed: is air travel safe? In *Taking Flight: The Foundations of American Commercial Aviation, 1918–1938*, author M. Houston Johnson V explores this question and others through a thorough examination of presidential aviation policies during the interwar years.

According to Johnson, the safety record of the contemporary aviation system began with the underappreciated vision of Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, who believed that the federal government's role should be limited to ensuring that the airlines had certified pilots and safe aircraft, providing adequate navigation facilities for pilots, and making sure that airports met minimal standards to transport mail and passengers. Hoover opposed the notion, common in European countries, that the federal government should entirely subsidize and control the commercial aviation industry. Through this concept of associationalism, or what also might be referred to as a public-private partnership, the success of the commercial aviation industry depended on both government subsidization and private investment. Interestingly, Hoover's

progressive view of commercial aviation survived an airmail scandal involving his former postmaster general Walter Folger Brown and continued in the New Deal policies of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

In this well-researched book, Johnson provides concise analysis of aviation policy during a time before government regulation, when a nascent commercial aviation industry experienced growing pains in the form of numerous aircraft accidents and considerable disarray. While the Air Commerce Act of 1926 provided a basic framework requiring pilot certification and aircraft maintenance records, the most significant contributions, argues Johnson, came through the policies of Hoover and Roosevelt. For example, Johnson provides excellent analysis and detailed commentary about the machinations of Postmaster General Brown, who sought to reorganize the airline industry by awarding the major airlines the most lucrative airmail contracts. He thus intentionally discouraged smaller airlines from undercutting the larger ones by offering smaller bids on airmail routes. While this policy resulted in a considerably shrunken industry, it drew the unwanted attention of Alabama senator Hugo Black, who launched an investigation into the postmaster general's "spoils conferences" and concluded that Brown's action was monopolistic in nature and illegal (p. 132). This story and others are sprinkled throughout the book.

The book's shortcomings are very few and minor. For example, there is only brief mention of the 1931 Transcontinental and Western Air crash in which famed University of Notre Dame football coach Knute Rockne and others lost their lives, which emboldened skeptics of commercial aviation's safety to urge the federal government to stop subsidizing the airlines. Also, the book makes no mention of the early partnership the airlines had with the railroads because, prior to lighted airways, pilots could not see and fly at night. Overall, the book is concise in aviation policy analysis and deep in description. It certainly will draw the interest of aviation scholars, policy analysts, and possibly general enthusiasts.

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

DANIEL K. BUBB

The Invention and Reinvention of Big Bill Broonzy. By Kevin D. Greene. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018. Pp. xvi, 226. Paper, \$29.95, ISBN 978-1-4696-4649-7; cloth, \$90.00, ISBN 978-1-4696-4648-0.)

Origin stories that anchor blues authenticity to tropes of culturally isolated African American male guitarists from the Mississippi Delta region remain so deeply ingrained in American popular music memory that it is reasonable for scholars to approach blues biographies with an air of skepticism and genuine hope for repurposing stories that challenge biographical caricatures. Kevin D. Greene's thoughtful depiction of Big Bill Broonzy (born Lee Conley Bradley) sidesteps these trappings by mapping American demographic shifts and commercial music developments onto Broonzy's lived geography. Greene describes his research as a recovery act that stretches public memory of this Chicago bluesman beyond Broonzy's influence on white rock musicians during blues revivals. *The Invention and Reinvention of Big Bill Broonzy* carefully situates Broonzy in a continuum of twentieth-century black

intellectuals and meditates on the development of a modern African American musical consciousness in relationship to Jim Crow urbanization.

The most salient lesson Greene imparts is that Broonzy's life story offers one route to understanding how black music flourished under the weight of Jim Crow. The book captures Broonzy's conscious fashioning of sound and image, while moving between cosmopolitan centers and reacting to music industry shifts, during a period when social structures were designed to subordinate black men. Drawing from interviews, archival manuscripts, and memorabilia, the book follows a chronological framework that reconciles Broonzy's public and private identities while describing the social impact of musical celebrity in Chicago and white fascination with black bluesmen. Greene's overview of the Great Migration depicts the birth and circulation of early commercial blues as an employment path for those with little economic mobility, thus complicating the genre's relationship to race, gender, industry, and leisure.

Broonzy was one of thousands of African Americans to relocate to Chicago at a critical moment during the Great Migration, when the blues craze transformed the city into a national music center. The blues emerges as a story of contested urban encounters and purposeful melding of preexisting ideas and musical practices from tent shows, vaudeville, churches, and sheet music rags. Professional music making was understood as an opportunity for greater autonomy and as an escape from hard manual labor for a talented few, but it required careful timing and socialization during racist, anti-immigrant, and antilabor movements that segregated Chicago's South Side and West Side neighborhoods. Music did not enable Broonzy or his contemporaries to transcend social struggles, but it provided an alternative mechanism with which they navigated perilous terrains.

Greene details Broonzy's command of the Chicago music scene when unemployment patterns pushed working-age men to other cities, technological developments caused record sales to surpass live performance revenues, and consumer preferences leaned toward the grittier sounds of Muddy Waters. Greene argues that Broonzy gets lost in dominant blues histories because he refused to abandon established black fan bases and his urban blues stylings in pursuit of more lucrative white music communities. Broonzy's departure from dominant music industry trends makes this biography a compelling case study about musical agency.

Musicologists know well the troubles of tracking music biographies with chameleon-like narrative shifts, archival holes, exaggerations, and offensive racialized promotional materials. Yet contemporary biographers who confront these challenges illuminate the depth of political, cultural, socioeconomic, and artistic change that is indexed by individual musicians. *The Invention and Reinvention of Big Bill Broonzy* dissects our motivations for remembering or forgetting individual musicians and ethically documents social and cultural networks that can aid our ability to understand human creativity in relation to the passing of time.

University of Virginia

ELIZABETH WHITTENBURG OZMENT

Black Veterans, Politics, and Civil Rights in Twentieth-Century America: Closing Ranks. Edited by Robert F. Jefferson Jr. War and Society in Modern American History. (Lanham, Md., and other cities: Lexington Books, 2019. Pp. xxii, 125. \$90.00, ISBN 978-1-4985-8631-3.)

The five main contributors to this slim volume take on a critical subject. How did black people's service in America's twentieth-century wars include the struggle for civil rights? Owing to Jim Crow and its legacy, black veterans' patriotism makes for an enduring problem in American history. Why did so many men sacrifice potentially everything for a nation, the majority of whose white citizens vehemently rejected black claims to full citizenship? Puzzling over that question in chronological order, the authors contribute to at least two strands of historiography that are sometimes connected, civil rights and military history.

Unfortunately, with the exception of the last essay in the collection, Elizabeth F. Desnoyers-Colas's "African American Leadership's Tug of War with Black Military Service Members: Rhetorical Situation Strategies in the Face of Gulf War," every contribution amounts to a tale of missed opportunities. Despite efforts by the authors of the foreword and afterword to lend conceptual coherence to these essays, upon closer reading most are often muddled or incomplete in their analyses.

Kevin D. Greene's piece on blues musician Big Bill Broonzy's World War I experience suffers because Broonzy's militancy never comes into focus. Readers know the war changed him and opened his eyes. Without some appreciable account of his follow-through on those experiences, the reader never learns entirely how or why Broonzy's story is a civil rights story. Greene admits, for example, that "no evidence exists" for why the bluesman made the Great Migration (p. 10). On such slim evidence, Greene imagines that choice and the events leading up to it as something resembling activism, stretching the concept of civil rights to a conceptual breaking point. That Greene uses other examples of activism and militancy—the experience of historian Rayford W. Logan, for example—suggests the author understands the problem (he needs ballast to straighten out the lines of his argument). Nonetheless, resistance can be an awfully supple concept. Had Greene made more extensive and intentional use of the methods of cultural and literary history, showing how Broonzy's lyrics or songs reflected a new consciousness in the years after his military service, the essay might have fit the bill.

Robert F. Jefferson Jr.'s essay on relationships across the color line between service members blinded while serving in World War II, although on firmer ground, misses some opportunities, too. Readers learn too little about precisely how the servicemen in this government-run convalescent home experienced racial conversations, or at least we do not read those specific stories in the subjects' own words. This could be a problem of sources. But the overall effect of the essay makes the reader suspect such things happened. The drama comes instead from the many moving stories of how the men learned to live with their disabilities. Yet Jefferson misses a critical opening. Some at the convalescent facility emphatically objected to their portrayal in the pages of Baynard Kendrick's novel *Lights Out* (1945) and made their objection known in an

organized setting. Jefferson's reader ought to know more about the novel. What exactly did veterans find so objectionable and why?

Selika M. Ducksworth-Lawton's chapter, about the storied Louisiana group Deacons for Defense and Justice, covers some potentially interesting ground but never quite brings its strands of interpretation together. Connections between black republican ideology and the strategy and tactics learned through military service never fully materialize. An extensive literature review muddles rather than sharpens things, leaving the reader more confused than illuminated. This is a shame, because the intersection between republicanism and military experience has enormous potential for illuminating the many competing and complementary strands of ideas that made up the classic phase of the civil rights movement. For his part, Jeremy P. Maxwell treads largely familiar but helpful ground, showing how changes in national political developments from the early 1960s to the early 1970s probably influenced the thinking of black men serving in the late stages of the Vietnam conflict. Yet the reader never hears the voices of those servicemen. We are left only to speculate about what they felt and thought, because we never hear from them.

Finally, Elizabeth F. Desnoyers-Colas's contribution is by far the best of the collection, clearly showing the evolving disconnect between black spokespersons, especially politicians and clergy, and the experiences of black people serving in the first Gulf War. If soldiers often saw military service through the lens of traditional uplift, then spokespersons for a variety of reasons—political or philosophical commitments—were often far more critical. That disconnect is important. It undermines any lingering stereotypes about black Americans as monolithic in their thinking. It is a common enough refrain that it needs refutation, and Desnoyers-Colas's essay does so in new ways, offering the best clues for reaching some answers to the enduring question of black patriotism.

Belmont University

PETER KURYLA

Religion of Fear: The True Story of the Church of God of the Union Assembly.

By David Cady. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2019. Pp. xxviii, 282. \$34.95, ISBN 978-1-62190-508-0.)

Drawing on interviews with numerous current and former members of the Church of God of the Union Assembly, novelist David Cady exposes the schemes the religious group used to exploit and control its members for nearly a century. Logically arranged into three parts, the book centers on Pratt family leaders who served as moderators or general overseers of the church.

Charlie Thomas "C. T." Pratt founded the church shortly after being expelled in 1917 from the holiness Church of God of the Mountain Assembly for preaching amillennialism, the belief that the millennial reign of God had started and the prophecies in Revelation had been fulfilled. Despite being illiterate, he used wit, charisma, and showmanship to build a strong following among numerous uneducated persons from the lower social strata. He preached that only followers of the Union Assembly would survive the second coming of Christ. Contending that disobedient members risked experiencing eternal damnation, he used fear to cajole members to give excessively to the church, including the money they needed to pay for living expenses.

During his tenure as leader of the church, Jesse Pratt Sr., C. T. Pratt's fourth son, continued his father's practice of encouraging members to give nonsensical portions of their income to the church, which was equivalent to giving money to the Pratt family. He threatened disobedient members that God would punish them by inflicting them with a disease. Unlike his father, Jesse Pratt Sr. ruled the church like a dictator, forcing members to confess their sins to him at the altar via a "confession train" (p. 123). He physically reprimanded persons who challenged his authority by grabbing them by the head and shaking them forcefully. Besides abusing members of his church, Jesse Pratt Sr. also battered his wife, Irene. Cady intimates that Irene was probably culpable or complicit in his murder, though the police accepted her story that her husband died of a heart attack.

Almost immediately after her husband's death, Irene ensured that her son Jesse Pratt Jr. emerged as the new leader of the church because she believed she could control him. As general overseer, Jesse Pratt Jr. "creat[ed] higher levels of terror" and continued the tyranny of his father, including but not limited to physically rebuking members (p. 182). Addicted to drugs, Jesse Pratt Jr. mismanaged the church's finances and caused the church to fall into severe debt. Ultimately, the Supreme Council defrocked him and elected his younger brother Charlie Thomas Pratt III as general overseer. Charlie managed to get the church afloat and disdained the fear tactics of his brother.

Cady suggests that the Church of God of the Union Assembly was a religious cult. Yet he does not distinguish the cult from the holiness-Pentecostal tradition. He shows that the Pratts embraced traditional holiness-Pentecostal theology, such as beliefs in divine healing, sanctification, glossolalia, and the baptism of the Holy Spirit. However, he might have given more attention to how the church deviates from the tradition as well. The religion of fear promulgated by the Pratts diverges from the Pentecostal message of love advanced by William J. Seymour, one of the pillars of Pentecostalism.

Additionally, many statements in the various chapters of the book seem redundant. However, this repetitiveness is necessary and helps indicate how the Pratt leaders employed similar coercive methods to exert control over parishioners. The numerous former members Cady interviewed reveal a recurring pattern of oppression and manipulation. Overall, Cady masterfully exposes the malicious ploys of leaders in the Church of God of the Union Assembly. This book may help elevate readers' awareness and suspicion of church leaders who use fear to manipulate their members today.

University of Houston–Downtown

JONATHAN CHISM

Cigarettes, Inc.: An Intimate History of Corporate Imperialism. By Nan Enstad. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2018. Pp. xiv, 333. Paper, \$25.00, ISBN 978-0-226-53331-5; cloth, \$75.00, ISBN 978-0-226-53328-5.)

Nan Enstad, the cultural historian whose *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1999) dexterously untangled the complex relationship between gender, consumer culture, and political activism in the turn-of-the-twentieth-century United States, has made a bold transnational turn. In her

innovative and meticulously researched new book *Cigarettes, Inc.: An Intimate History of Corporate Imperialism*, Enstad ventures away from American shores to tell a story of, among other things, the spectacular growth in the popular appeal of cigarettes in China during the nation's turbulent late-Chi'ng and Republican eras. While focusing on the production, marketing, and consumption of cigarettes in the United States and China, her gaze pierces other key nodes in the global commodity chain, among them Egypt, Turkey, and Japan. She professes an ambition for her work of cultural history to speak to the field of the United States and the world. It does indeed do so, and then some.

Enstad skillfully weaves together layers of structural forces in world history and dense interplays of individual actors who traversed national boundaries, portraying the cigarette trade as a series of transactions that are not simply economic but also social and cultural. The cast of characters mobilized for her tale of globalization runs the gamut from entrepreneurs of various nationalities, American farmers, and factory workers—both black and white—in the Jim Crow U.S. South, to foreign expatriates and their corporate wives recreating a home away from home in China, to cultural intermediaries, including Chinese courtesans in Shanghai during the Jazz Age.

Enstad upends the vaunted notion of modernity as a historical formation flowing inexorably from west to east. There were multiple sites where entrepreneurship was contemporaneously invented and executed. Various racialized and gendered tools of labor management and corporate hierarchies were devised by American and Chinese capital to control and discipline what Enstad astutely constructs as a global labor force corralled by a commodity. Local variations were the norm in modes of marketing and consuming cigarettes, not to mention the symbolic associations derived from them and the political use to which they were put. In China, cigarettes morphed into the very embodiment of the West in ways presaging Coca-Cola as an icon of American corporate capitalism, a phenomenon Amanda Ciafone has illustrated in her recent book *Counter-Cola: A Multinational History of the Global Corporation* (Oakland, Calif., 2019). Accordingly, American brands of cigarettes became a principal target of China's nationalist boycott campaign in 1905.

Among the many iconoclastic conclusions Enstad reaches and historical conventions she debunks is the mystique built around James B. Duke of the American Tobacco Company (ATC) as the quintessential Schumpeterian "creative destructor" (p. 6). Instead, Enstad portrays the tobacco tycoon as one of many entrepreneurs who shrewdly capitalized on the transformation of American law that created new entitlements for corporations, neutralizing certain state regulatory functions and enabling new forms of monopolistic practice. Cigarette companies like the ATC rallied to turn those new opportunities into profits at home and abroad. In Enstad's telling, multilateral corporations like the ATC emerge as an integral arm of American imperialism by the dawn of the twentieth century, aided by the system of extraterritoriality set up in Asia and elsewhere in the non-Western world. The story Enstad constructs through the single product of cigarettes is a powerful reinterpretation of American capitalism and corporate power itself.

Besides contributing to U.S. and world historiography, Enstad aspires to write a new business history, one in which labor and corporate histories are not

distinct but mutually constitutive. In her school of history, integral parts are played not just by corporate leaders, boards of directors, and stockholders but also by those who toiled and labored under the corporation's organizational umbrella and those who consumed the product. The author should be commended for accomplishing her expansive methodological agenda so grandly.

Rice University

SAYURI GUTHRIE SHIMIZU

Murder in New Orleans: The Creation of Jim Crow Policing. By Jeffrey S. Adler. Historical Studies of Urban America. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2019. Pp. viii, 256. \$35.00, ISBN 978-0-226-64331-1.)

While historians attempt to explain the meteoric rise in incarceration after World War II, Jeffrey S. Adler invites us to consider a wider narrative. Adler's work *Murder in New Orleans: The Creation of Jim Crow Policing* investigates the collective actions of the criminal justice system in New Orleans and the interwar racial climate, while exploring many "complex and often counter-intuitive relationships between violence and reactions to violence and between crime and punishment" in the process (pp. 2–3). Adler's focus on the years 1920–1945 allows the reader to consider numerous watershed moments in American history, such as the Great Migration, Prohibition, the Great Depression, and World War II, and their effect on race, justice, and Jim Crow. New Orleans, while a violent southern city, provides much insight into other similar locales at the time, especially in the area of policing, politics, and economics. The disjuncture between crime rates, actual violence, and white perceptions of violence provides the paradox that is the major theme of the work. These white perceptions of crime fueled the development of a criminal justice system in New Orleans that continues to evolve in often tragic ways.

In the 1920s, custom and not law dictated the criminal justice system's disregard for African American crime. As long as white New Orleanians perceived that black crime was neatly tucked away within racial boundaries, the criminal justice system ignored what it referred to as a "negro problem" (p. 21). In many cases, where ample evidence existed of black guilt in a homicide, prosecutors refused to charge the accused. Releasing these individuals back to the street, along with the endemic inaction of the criminal justice system, left African Americans feeling helpless. Hence, it is no surprise that the rates of African American violence soared as black people increasingly turned to self-help. As time progressed, the cultural and social history of the United States might lead one to believe that violent crime and homicide skyrocketed in New Orleans. Instead, according to records Adler uncovers, it decreased. The economic downfall of the late 1920s and 1930s reduced crime in the Big Easy.

Unfortunately, these statistics did not matter to police and prosecutors. National-headline-making crimes, the increase in property crimes, and the rising anxiety of white people in New Orleans that the banditry would continue to grow among African Americans began the transformation of crime control into race control. Increased militarization of police, as well as the evolution of the brutal methods of confession extraction, combined with police officers seeing themselves as protectors of the white racial order. The growing

importance placed on perception, fueled by race and anxiety as opposed to reality, signaled a law enforcement shift that continued well into the twentieth century and beyond.

The major strength of Adler's work rests in the sources. He has succeeded in finding an urban area that had no dearth of crime and homicide statistics and records. Adler has reviewed a total of 2,118 homicide cases during the interwar period, and his primary source materials serve as a valuable foundation for any examination of criminal justice in New Orleans. He also expands his view beyond the courts, analyzing other diverse records such as coroners' records and newspapers. Utilizing this fantastically cohesive body of primary sources, Adler helps explain the origins of the current incarceration crisis, which most assuredly rest in the interwar period.

Winona State University

GREGORY L. RICHARD

The Unlikely Reformer: Carter Glass and Financial Regulation. By Matthew P. Fink. (Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press, 2019. Pp. xviii, 228. Paper, \$32.00, ISBN 978-1-942695-16-5.)

Students of American financial history know well the Glass-Steagall Act (1933), which established a regulatory firewall between commercial and investment banking in the wake of the Great Depression. But some may not realize that its major architect—Virginia senator Carter Glass—also helped design the Federal Reserve System (Fed) and the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). Matthew P. Fink's compact, well-written biography of a master politician shows how Glass's ability to compromise helped him make his mark on American finance.

A latter-day Jeffersonian Democrat wary of Wall Street, Glass acknowledged the federal government's role in maintaining financial stability but also favored decentralization of power. Chapter 1 traces Glass's views to his modest upbringing in Lynchburg, Virginia, in the aftermath of the Civil War. Chapter 2 describes the turmoil Glass encountered as a newly minted congressman facing the financial crisis of 1907. Upon appointment to the House Banking Committee, "Glass steeped himself on banking issues" (p. 14). Chapter 3 offers a fascinating view of the clashing viewpoints surrounding the creation of the Fed. Fink concludes that "the technical portions" of the Federal Reserve Act of 1913 were attributable to Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, but "[t]he political aspects," mainly "decentralization and public control," were due to President Woodrow Wilson and Glass (pp. 54, 55).

Glass's political acumen and financial expertise led to a brief appointment as treasury secretary, which he resigned to take a senatorial seat in 1919. During the 1920s, Glass watched helplessly as the Fed became dominated by big-city banks; he "put forth concrete proposals to slow speculation and buying on margin" (p. 70). The 1929 stock market crash led to Glass's next major contribution—the Glass-Steagall Act of 1933. Chapters 5 and 6 deftly relate Glass's ability to compromise—for example, he agreed to include a widely popular provision for deposit insurance in the final bill even though he personally opposed it.

As Fink notes, Glass-Steagall chose to fragment power as an alternative to instituting regulatory oversight. Sixty-six years later, Congress reversed course, repealing the key Glass-Steagall separation provision and creating instead a

web of regulatory agencies. Glass's earlier creation, the Fed, underwent a similar transformation far earlier—counter to Glass's original vision, the Banking Act of 1935 centralized authority in the Board of Governors rather than dispersing control over regional banks. Glass did win a minor victory in keeping power away from the Fed by pushing for the establishment of a separate agency to oversee the stock market. Although he did not succeed in divorcing the Fed completely from the SEC—the Fed retains margin authority—he did mitigate consolidation of power in governing the financial sector.

Fink uses compelling anecdotes, eye-catching illustrations, and pertinent private correspondence to enliven this biography. At the same time, however, he overuses block quotations and heads each chapter with aphorisms that are sometimes spot-on and sometimes head-scratchers. Although the book underplays Glass's probable motivation for power decentralization—his virulent hatred of African Americans—it does offer a nice account of his contributions to financial reform.

Carleton College

JENNY BOURNE

Fire and Stone: The Making of the University of North Carolina under Presidents Edward Kidder Graham and Harry Woodburn Chase. By Howard E. Covington Jr. Coates University Leadership Series. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Library, 2018. Pp. xvi, 528. \$35.00, ISBN 978-1-4696-5182-8.)

Fire and Stone: The Making of the University of North Carolina under Presidents Edward Kidder Graham and Harry Woodburn Chase recounts the story of both a likely and an unlikely leader of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC) between 1913 and 1930. Edward Kidder Graham, the likely leader, graduated from UNC and, after studying at Columbia University and Harvard University, returned to lead the institution from 1913 to 1918. Early in his term, Graham fortuitously proclaimed that the university should be “co-extensive with the boundaries of the state” and announced his intention to put the university, as head of the state's educational system, “in warm sensitive touch with every problem in North Carolina life, small and great” (p. xi). During his five years as president, Graham, with a mix of pragmatism and charisma, sought to ally the university with a host of constituencies ranging from public educators and farmers to churches and alumni. To each of these groups, he maintained that universities should play a role in identifying and remedying the state's social and economic problems. Under Graham's leadership, students and faculty alike began to view public service as part of their obligation to the state. Graham's plans, however, were interrupted, first by World War I and then by his own untimely death in 1918 during the postwar flu epidemic.

Graham's successor, Harry Woodburn Chase, the unlikely leader, was a native of Massachusetts and had joined the UNC faculty in 1910. Though an outsider to UNC, Chase shared Graham's sense of mission and carried forth Graham's vision of a university as a societal beacon to the state. Chase's and Graham's success was, perhaps, most apparent in the grassroots campaign that eventually led to massive increases in funding during the early 1920s. Covington notes that “[t]he state had never seen such an uprising of average

citizens” toward a common cause (p. 235). The roaring 1920s, Covington observes, was also a reactionary decade, and Chase became a vocal member of an eventually successful opposition to an effort to compel the state legislature to outlaw the teaching of evolution in North Carolina’s public schools. Chase’s defense of freedom of speech was often eloquently combined with a reminder that Christianity had been and remained at the core of the university’s mission. Furthermore, he often reminded his detractors that schoolteachers were not somehow excluded from the Constitution’s guarantee of freedom of speech. Over the course of his twelve-year tenure, Chase both recruited the talented faculty and secured the funding to strengthen the public-service-oriented graduate programs, which his friend and predecessor Graham had once envisioned.

Together, the author argues, Graham’s “fire” and Chase’s “stone” paved the way for UNC to eventually emerge as a leader in not merely southern but also American higher education during the twentieth century. During their tenures, the school started as a small liberal arts institution and became one prepared to lead the state into becoming a leader in the New South. *Fire and Stone* is a worthy contribution to the history of American higher education and, in particular, to understanding the history of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in the years between its near collapse during the era of Reconstruction and the activist presidency of Frank Porter Graham during the Great Depression.

St. David’s School

JOHN LANGDALE

Robert R. Church Jr. and the African American Political Struggle. By Darius J. Young. (Gainesville and other cities: University Press of Florida, 2019. Pp. xiv, 177. \$80.00, ISBN 978-0-8130-5627-2.)

“The Gentleman from Memphis” has finally found his biographer (p. 1). *Robert R. Church Jr. and the African American Political Struggle* is a powerfully argued critical study of one of the most influential figures who lived during the first half of the twentieth century. According to Darius J. Young, much of black politics in the early twentieth century pivoted around the towering presence of Robert R. Church Jr. Yet his significance has been largely overlooked. Through painstaking mining of primary and secondary sources, Young addresses the deafening silence in the literature by carefully recounting Church’s life as a formidable political organizer and as the most prominent black Republican Party official in the Jim Crow South. By embracing many of the themes espoused by recent scholars of the long civil rights movement, he contends that the political mobilizing efforts made by Church and his contemporaries in the 1910s and 1920s laid the groundwork for the struggle for equality that occurred decades later. Young attempts to answer the question surrounding Church’s anonymity while presenting him as a prominent black political leader and civil rights advocate who worked for equality during the decades between the age of Booker T. Washington and the mass-movement strategies of A. Philip Randolph.

Young places Church’s social and political activities squarely in his upbringing in the American South, the context of the racial strictures of Jim Crow

segregation, and the middle-class racial uplift politics that structured the lives of the black professional class who lived in the region at the time. Church imbibed the lessons of racial pride and class unity imparted to him by his parents and the black community of Memphis, Tennessee. According to Young, the close-knit networks of family, education, and religion shielded Church and other members of the post-Reconstruction black upper class from the discriminatory laws, customs, and practices of Jim Crow, but they also opened up different avenues for black leaders to advance the causes of many black southerners who were less fortunate. For Church, local and national politics provided such a platform.

In later chapters, readers see the Memphis leader fighting the lily-white factions within the GOP and enlarging the possibilities of black political enfranchisement through the creation of the Lincoln League of America. Church also worked to advance the struggle for equality by helping establish a branch of the NAACP in Memphis and aiding its investigations of lynching and race riots during the period. By the middle of the 1920s, his activities had earned him national recognition as a leader on civil rights issues in the country. Church's presence as a national figure was short-lived, as charges of patronage corruption, bitter infighting with local political bosses such as Democrat E. H. Crump, the national Republican Party leaders' willingness to take black voters for granted, and the mass exodus of black voters from the GOP diminished his influence by the end of the decade.

As Young points out, part of the reason behind the scholarly reticence about Church's importance may be due to Church's own tendency to shun the public spotlight. But any future discussion of his significance must account for the painful contradictions that he and other members of the black political elite must have experienced as they tried to grapple with the economic dimensions of the color and class line. How did the "Roving Dictator of the Lincoln Belt" reconcile his inner thoughts about racial uplift with the grinding poverty and virulent racism that his working-class counterparts had encountered at the time (p. 30)? Overall, *Robert R. Church Jr. and the African American Political Struggle* is a useful study about the black struggle for political equality in the early twentieth century.

University of New Mexico

ROBERT F. JEFFERSON JR.

The Chief Justiceship of William Howard Taft, 1921–1930. By Jonathan Lurie. Chief Justiceships of the United States Supreme Court. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2019. Pp. xiv, 255. \$49.99, ISBN 978-1-61117-987-3.)

It is easy to remember the legal groundbreakers who served as chief justice of the United States Supreme Court, such as John Marshall and Earl Warren. More difficult is considering chief justices who made substantial, if not Newtonian-like, contributions to U.S. legal history. In 1970 constitutional scholars and legal historians ranked William Howard Taft, holder of the office from 1921 through 1930, as "near great," according to Henry J. Abraham (*Justices, Presidents, and Senators: A History of the U.S. Supreme Court Appointments from Washington to Bush II* [Lanham, Md.,

2008], p. 374). Even so, scholars still tend to see Taft more as the reluctant United States president, not as the surprisingly crafty chief justice. This new book by Jonathan Lurie demonstrates why Taft deserves his judicial reputation, and it strikes an admirable balance between an individual assessment and an explanation of historical context.

The two major strengths of *The Chief Justiceship of William Howard Taft, 1921–1930* lie in its persuasive demonstration of both Taft's political shrewdness and his collegial stewardship of his eight fellow justices. Taft not only lobbied his fellow Ohioan and recently elected president Warren G. Harding to appoint him chief justice in 1921, but Taft also influenced Harding's subsequent Supreme Court appointments, particularly that of Taft's old friend (and the more legally influential justice) George A. Sutherland. In addition, Lurie shows how Taft crafted a successful strategy for the passage of the Judiciary Act of 1925, or Judges' Bill, which granted the nation's highest court its right to determine cases by writ of certiorari. While the bill presented no controversy, Taft carefully relied on a coalition of justices to testify before Congress how the new method could preserve principles of efficiency and equity. Moreover, despite his increasing ill health after the mid-1920s, Taft still played a considerable part in garnering federal appropriations for the current Supreme Court building. Lurie also demonstrates how Taft preserved substantial majorities for Supreme Court decisions through a mixture of outward affability and well-placed pressures. The chief justice tolerated Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr.'s penchant for dissent, in return for his colleague's eagerness to write majority opinions, and Louis Brandeis's legally scrupulous, if sometimes lengthily written, objections. Taft's successful relationship with Brandeis becomes more remarkable when one considers Taft's vociferous opposition to Brandeis's confirmation in 1916. Taft even maintained civility with the notoriously disagreeable and inept James C. McReynolds. As Lurie shows, Taft's great administrative successes as chief justice lay partially in his pleasure in serving as a federal judge and partially in a diverse career of legal administrative expertise, including service as the solicitor general of the United States and on a federal appellate court.

Despite the overall positive assessment of Taft's chief justiceship, Lurie also shows how Taft adopted a King Lear-like persona in his later years on the Court, as he sensed future difficulties with his beloved conservative legal classicism. Taft privately denounced Holmes, Brandeis, and new colleague Harlan Fiske Stone in 1929 as "'Bolsheviki,'" a sad reminder of how personal difficulties can trump professional considerations (p. 208).

This reviewer must note two caveats. Epigrammatic Holmes certainly was, but the constant use of the word becomes a bit wearying. Additionally, while the explanations of the Taft Court's jurisprudential breakthroughs are enlightening, one sometimes feels lost in the sea of details. Still, *The Chief Justiceship of William Howard Taft* is an exemplary effort that demonstrates how Taft made his mark as an excellent, if not great, chief justice of the United States.

Siena College

JOHN THOMAS MCGUIRE

Jim Crow Capital: Women and Black Freedom Struggles in Washington, D.C., 1920–1945. By Mary-Elizabeth B. Murphy. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018. Pp. [xii], 280. Paper, \$29.95, ISBN 978-1-4696-4672-5; cloth, \$90.00, ISBN 978-1-4696-4671-8.)

Embracing the long civil rights movement approach, the historian Mary-Elizabeth B. Murphy tells the story of African American women’s civil rights activism in early-twentieth-century Washington, D.C., which she aptly refers to as “Jim Crow Capital,” in *Jim Crow Capital: Women and Black Freedom Struggles in Washington, D.C., 1920–1945*. Murphy argues that, after World War I and the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, African American women waged a gamut of campaigns for voting and citizenship rights. These rights, which were conferred by local and federal laws in the 1860s, were abolished less than a decade later. Working in behalf of all African Americans, in and outside the nation’s capital, black women “crafted a broad vision of citizenship rights, maintaining that full equality would never be achieved until everyone was equal in the eyes of the law; each person had the opportunity to earn a just wage and live decently; America’s commemorative landscape celebrated the achievements of the nation’s diverse citizenry; and all women, men, and children lived free of the terrors of violence” (p. 2). African American women’s vision and activism, Murphy concludes, not only transformed the nation’s capital but also influenced the nature and direction of postwar black freedom struggles.

Drawing largely on black organizational records and newspapers, Murphy meticulously traces in six chapters African American women’s shifting focus from national politics to local affairs. Each chapter examines these women’s use of social and political networks and organizations to try to pass (albeit unsuccessfully) a federal antilynching law, combat police brutality, secure economic justice and local suffrage, and end racial segregation and discrimination in public accommodations.

The chapter on African American women’s campaign against police brutality is particularly timely and compelling. Using twenty-nine reported cases of violence against black women, Murphy reveals that, though the campaign was “not an exclusively women’s movement,” women successfully leveraged their “networks in neighborhood associations, the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA, fraternal orders, and political organizations. . . . to make the city ‘Safe for Negro Womanhood’” (p. 79). As black women rallied against police violence, Murphy also notes, they began “to employ militant language, direct action resistance, and an unwavering quest for first-class citizenship” (p. 109).

Arguably, Murphy makes her strongest case that black women in Washington laid the foundation for the civil rights movement in her final chapter. Here, she examines Howard University students’ 1943 sit-in movement and situates it within “a larger movement that included federal lobbying campaigns, protests against transportation segregation, and ongoing engagement with the memories of the Civil War” (p. 174). This sit-in movement, Murphy finds, “became affiliated with the Fellowship of Reconciliation of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) By uniting a local movement with a prominent, national civil rights organization, activists saw the black freedom struggle in Washington, D.C., as a model for the nation” (p. 190).

Some readers, however, may be left wanting a fuller interrogation of this local movement's reach. What made the Washington sit-in movement "a model for the nation"? Was it the employment of this tactic in the consumer sphere and in the nation's capital during World War II? Was it the convergence of the sit-in with other grassroots campaigns in Washington? Was it well received by African Americans in other cities—who were engaging similar battles—during and after the war?

Nevertheless, *Jim Crow Capital* is a welcome addition to a growing body of literature on the black freedom movement and black Washington's lives and labors in the early twentieth century. Murphy's well-researched book reaffirms and expands our knowledge of the sacrifices, ingenuity, and activism of African American women who paved the way and shaped the second Reconstruction.

University of Massachusetts Amherst

TRACI PARKER

A Giant from Georgia: The Life of U.S. Senator Walter F. George, 1878–1957.

By Jamie H. Cockfield. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2019. Pp. xiv, 521. \$45.00, ISBN 978-0-88146-676-8.)

When Walter F. George died in 1957, over thirty of his former U.S. Senate colleagues attended his funeral in Vienna, Georgia. The turnout was a testimony to the respect his fellow senators had for George, who served Georgia in the Senate for thirty-four years. Although George is little remembered today, Jamie H. Cockfield offers an insightful portrait of a public servant and, Cockfield argues, a true statesman.

Born in 1878 to tenant farmers, George developed a love for politics at an early age. Intelligent and ambitious, George graduated from Mercer College (now Mercer University), read for the bar, earned his law degree, and practiced law. When Senator Thomas E. Watson died of a heart attack in 1922, George, a Democrat, ran successfully for the vacated seat. When George retired in 1956, he was the Senate's senior member. Eventually rising to chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, George played a pivotal role in ensuring passage of the 1941 Lend-Lease Act.

George's championing of Lend-Lease was remarkable given the tension between President Franklin D. Roosevelt and George. A supporter of the early New Deal, George by 1935 had begun to express doubts about the direction of Roosevelt's programs. Roosevelt's proposal to pack the Supreme Court offended George's cherished ideal of an independent judicial branch, and he helped lead the fight to quash the bill. Embittered at what he saw as George's apostasy, Roosevelt targeted George in his 1938 purge of conservative Democrats, going so far as to travel to Georgia and publicly endorse his handpicked candidate in a speech that became known as the Barnesville Manifesto. Standing on the dais while Roosevelt denounced him, George waited stoically for the president to finish. When he did, George walked up to Roosevelt, handed him a written statement accepting his challenge, and left the usually unflappable Roosevelt flummoxed. The masterful handling of the situation helped George keep his seat, which he held until deciding not to run for reelection in 1956.

Professor emeritus at Mercer University, Cockfield developed an interest in the university's most famous alumnus and spent years researching George's life. Writing a biography of George presents a challenge, because, for reasons

unknown, George had his personal papers burned after his death. Cockfield ably overcomes this disadvantage by consulting an exhaustive array of sources. The bibliography runs nineteen pages, and the author diligently tracked down an impressive variety of materials, including interviews with George's law partner and other close associates. Although a specialist in Russian history, Cockfield demonstrates a command of American politics, especially the peculiarities of Georgia's byzantine electoral system.

As the title attests, Cockfield is clearly partial to his subject. He notes that there was never a whiff of scandal in George's career, though Cockfield does hint that in his later years George had a bit of a drinking problem. The one area in his career that George failed was the racial issue. A child of the Jim Crow South, George's views on racial equality never evolved, but Cockfield argues that George was a moderate on the race question. Unlike Tom Watson and Herman E. Talmadge, his predecessor and successor in the Senate, George was no demagogue and rarely took part in the race-baiting campaigns that were endemic among his southern colleagues. Cockfield also contends that, compared with his Georgia colleague Richard B. Russell Jr., George had almost enlightened racial views, but that does not say much in light of George's lifelong commitment to segregation.

Though Walter George might not have been a giant of the Senate, he was a significant legislator, one respected and even a bit revered by his fellow senators of both parties. In this well-written account, George gets the biography he richly deserves.

Quincy University

JUSTIN P. COFFEY

Faulkner and the Native South. Edited by Jay Watson, Annette Trefzer, and James G. Thomas Jr. Faulkner and Yoknapatawpha. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2019. Pp. xlvi, 210. \$70.00, ISBN 978-1-4968-1809-6.)

Stemming from the 2016 Faulkner and Yoknapatawpha conference of the same title, *Faulkner and the Native South* makes a cogent, illuminating, and timely contribution to the distinct but overlapping fields of southern studies and Native studies. Published in a moment of rising nativism, the collection gives readers a valuable opportunity to reflect on the history of those who are truly indigenous to the region about which William Faulkner wrote.

Perhaps the central question running through *Faulkner and the Native South* is how to conceptualize the relationship between the title's two parts. As Eric Gary Anderson writes, "the most provocative word in the title . . . is 'and'" (p. 164). Should readers view the study of Faulkner as fundamentally compatible with the study of Native peoples, and thus understand the collection's title as a compound subject? Or should we conclude that Faulkner's fictional Indians ultimately impede, rather than facilitate, the study of Native history, and thus treat *and* as a marker of division? The essays make abundantly clear what Faulkner scholars stand to gain from attending to the Native South: the field of Native studies helpfully challenges "constructions of a biracial South" that have long dominated Faulkner scholarship; and references to Indigenous history are "hidden in plain sight" throughout Faulkner's oeuvre, perhaps most notably in the name Yoknapatawpha County, derived from Choctaw for "Land That Spreads Out" or "Land That Is Open," as LeAnne Howe notes (pp. ix, 148, 3).

What is less clear, and where many of the volume's contributors productively disagree with one another, is the extent to which Faulkner has anything of value to contribute to Native studies.

The two opening essays might be described as encouraging readers to attend to the Native South instead of—rather than alongside—Faulkner's fiction. Howe, whose contribution blends historical commentary with excerpts from her own fiction and poetry, condemns Faulkner's Native characters as "mere stereotypes" and focuses instead on Indigenous practices of weather prediction (p. 11). Similarly, Jodi A. Byrd writes that Faulkner represents Choctaws and Chickasaws (without ever clearly differentiating between the two groups) "as hapless targets for fraud and abuse" (p. 19). Byrd calls on scholars to move beyond standard black and white or white and Indigenous binaries in order to attend to the experiences of oppression and dispossession that link black and Indigenous people. Precisely by virtue of this inclination to keep Faulkner at arm's length, these essays represent an essential strand of the collection, not least because they are written by the only two contributors who explicitly identify themselves as citizens of tribal nations.

The remaining essays devote more space to analyzing Faulkner's fiction, proposing strategies for negotiating the two parts of the collection's title. Melanie Benson Taylor examines Faulkner's subtle allusions to the Native South, including the description of a character as a "cigar store Indian" in *As I Lay Dying* (1930); the character named Red in *Sanctuary* (1931); and the four half-Apache youths who steal a rich woman's dog at the end of *The Town* (1957) (p. 40). Gina Caison proposes that we "think not so much of Faulkner's Native South as . . . the Native South's Faulkner, positioning the author's work as one thread among many in the interactive fabric of the region," and she illustrates this approach by comparing Faulkner's portrayal of the Great Flood of 1927 in *The Wild Palms* (1939) with Houma filmmaker Monique Verdin's portrayal of ecological catastrophe in her documentary *My Louisiana Love* (2012) (p. 50). Patricia Galloway provides an informative discussion of Native clothing, demonstrating that, whereas Faulkner presents Indians who wear European dress as exhibiting "slavelike declension," in fact "Native people were fully capable of adopting Euroamerican clothing creatively to their own ends" (p. 83). Robbie Ethridge describes Sam Fathers, a major symbolic presence in Faulkner's *Go Down, Moses* (1942), as a problematic example of the "Ecological Indian," and she wonders whether the long-standing view of Natives "as having a special, ecological, and protective relationship to the natural world" does more harm than good, reaffirming a demeaning stereotype (pp. 135, 141).

Faulkner's portrayals of Indians often emphasize dispossession and disappearance, and it is historical fact that the United States government's Indian removal policies forced many Choctaws and Chickasaws west of the Mississippi River during and after the 1830s. At the same time, some contributors use Faulkner as a point of departure for examining more recent developments in the history of Mississippi's Native communities. Annette Trefzer argues that Faulkner's portrayal of Indian removal in *Requiem for a Nun* (1951) obliquely registers the Cold War project "to withdraw government services for Native Americans so as to integrate them into mainstream society," and she foregrounds

the role of gender in this history through her discussion of the *x* that Faulkner's fictional Chickasaw woman Mohataha signs to a legal agreement (p. 97). Katherine M. B. Osburn also pushes back against Faulkner's "vanishing Indian trope," discussing the efforts of Choctaws who were "resurrecting their tribal government" in Depression-era Mississippi, before suggesting that Faulkner's story "Lo!" (1934) may signal his awareness of this campaign (pp. 122, 124).

Others follow Caison in pursuing a comparative approach: Eric Gary Anderson reads *Light in August* (1932) in conversation with Blackfeet writer Stephen Graham Jones's werewolf novel *Mongrels* (2016), which also explores issues of foreignness and hybridity. Melanie R. Anderson contrasts Faulkner's accounts of Native obsolescence with the work of Ojibwe writer Louise Erdrich, who offers narratives of "Native survival" in novels like *The Beet Queen* (1986) and *Tracks* (1988) (p. 168). Finally, John Wharton Lowe discusses the function of humor in Faulkner's Native narratives. His contribution provides a valuable complement to the rest of the collection, in part because Lowe gives an excellent discussion of Faulkner's comic tale "A Courtship" (1948), which does not receive much attention elsewhere in the volume.

College of the Holy Cross

GREG CHASE

Painting Culture, Painting Nature: Stephen Mopope, Oscar Jacobson, and the Development of Indian Art in Oklahoma. By Gunlög Fur. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019. Pp. xii, 356. \$34.95, ISBN 978-0-8061-6287-4.)

In *Painting Culture, Painting Nature: Stephen Mopope, Oscar Jacobson, and the Development of Indian Art in Oklahoma*, Gunlög Fur presents highly engaging accounts of the lives of two icons of the twentieth-century Native American fine art movement. Swedish American artist and academic Oscar Jacobson and Kiowa painter Stephen Mopope are her subjects. Employing a methodology based in concurrent histories, Fur focuses on the divergences and intersections of Jacobson's and Mopope's lives and on the ways the two influenced one another through complex entanglements.

In 1927 Jacobson provided Mopope and five other Kiowas with an extraordinary and unparalleled educational and professional opportunity, bringing the young artists to the University of Oklahoma to study easel painting. He also arranged for them to study mural painting with fellow Swedish immigrant artist Olle Nordmark at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Jacobson's actions were unprecedented. No other American university had such a program, and it was not until much later in the twentieth century that Native students studied art at American universities in significant numbers. Under Jacobson's mentorship and promotion, the group of painters who became known as the Kiowa Five gained international recognition and went on to long and successful art careers. What began as a teacher-student relationship that crossed social and cultural boundaries grew into a long-lasting friendship and professional affiliation between Jacobson and Mopope, which contributed significantly to the development of a twentieth-century Native American fine art tradition.

Mopope was born on the Oklahoma reservation where his southern plains tribe had been forcibly removed in the 1870s. Jacobson was a Swedish immigrant who was raised in the Swedish American enclave of Lindsborg,

Kansas. After graduating from Yale University, he became an art professor at the University of Oklahoma, where he remained for the rest of his career. Given their backgrounds, Jacobson and Mopope seem like an unlikely pairing. However, as Fur argues, both were members of diasporic communities; and although they experienced dislocation in different ways, each experienced restrictions and loss as a result of their outsider status. Fur argues for the importance of viewing Jacobson's experience of immigration and Mopope's experience of dispossession as interdependent and complexly interlinked. While she never loses sight of the greater social inequality Native Americans have experienced relative to Swedish immigrants, she posits that displacement and loss may have served as common points of identification that allowed Jacobson and Mopope to forge and maintain a fruitful alliance.

Fur uses published scholarly studies, archival sources, oral histories, and memoirs to reconstruct the lives of Jacobson and Mopope. Mopope's granddaughter Vanessa Paukeigope Jennings and Jacobson's wife, Sophie Brouse Jacobson, who wrote under the pen name Jeanne d'Ucel and completed several unpublished manuscripts on her husband's life and work, were especially important sources of information. Fur points out that, while scholarship on Swedish immigrants to North America is abundant, histories of interactions between Scandinavian newcomers and American Indians are rare, and such retellings tend to lump all European immigrants together as one indistinguishable group. Fur's previous scholarship on Swedish immigrant communities in North America and Karen V. Hansen's *Encounter on the Great Plains: Scandinavian Settlers and the Dispossession of Dakota Indians, 1890–1930* (New York, 2013), which Fur cites as influential on her work, are notable exceptions.

Historical accounts of Jacobson's work with the Kiowa artists are numerous. However, Fur provides a richer and more nuanced accounting than her predecessors. Her writing is elegant and engaging, and the narratives she presents are compelling. Anyone with an interest in twentieth-century Native American art will want to read *Painting Culture, Painting Nature*.

Northern Arizona University

JENNIFER McLERRAN

The New Deal's Forest Army: How the Civilian Conservation Corps Worked. By Benjamin F. Alexander. *How Things Worked.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018. Pp. xii, 179. Paper, \$19.95, ISBN 978-1-4214-2456-9; cloth, \$55.00, ISBN 978-1-4214-2455-2.)

"One thing was clear: *somebody* was going to have to do *something* successfully for the nation," writes Benjamin F. Alexander in his new book, *The New Deal's Forest Army: How the Civilian Conservation Corps Worked* (p. 4). Highlighting the urgent need for the federal government to "do something" to ease the suffering of millions of Americans in the grips of poverty and unemployment during the Great Depression, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was organized to solve a number of interrelated problems, including massive unemployment, widespread transience, and deforestation. Considered Franklin D. Roosevelt's "pet project," the CCC was composed of millions of young men, "enrollees," serving in the "forest army," planting millions of trees

for reforestation efforts as well as responding to a variety of conservation needs across the diverse terrain of the continental United States, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Alaska (p. 2). Alexander's work illuminates many of the program's enduring environmental legacies, such as the development of the country's national parks, infrastructure, and forests.

The chapter "How Boys and Men Joined the CCC" is one of the more fascinating parts of Alexander's work. Initially only accepting enrollees between eighteen and twenty-five years of age, the CCC eventually opened up to a variety of potential candidates. The decision to include unemployed veterans was precipitated by a number of factors, including the growing number of World War I soldiers protesting in Washington, D.C., for access to unpaid military bonuses. Refreshingly, Alexander goes beyond the obvious experience of young white men to include the participation of African Americans, Native Americans, and even women enrollees in the CCC's sister, "She-She-She," camps (p. 28).

Interestingly, Alexander situates the program's origins in the broader moral panic about transient youth that occurred during the Great Depression. In 1932 the Children's Bureau of the Labor Department published the "Memorandum on Transient Boys," explaining the internal migration of young people as not only a labor problem but also a youth crisis, with transient adolescents creating a "great underground world," in the words of a contemporary journalist, outside the norms of society (p. 5). Local communities often anxiously feared the influx of transient male youths into their towns, which required that "considerable public relations work went into the running of the CCC at every stage of its life" for the bureaucracies overseeing the program (p. 34). Other popular concerns included the accusation that the CCC served as a propaganda outfit to militarize the nation's youth. Ironically, it was World War II that led to the CCC's dismantling, as young men were drafted to serve in the military.

Alexander's work is effective in the meticulous detailing of the backgrounds, experiences, and labors of the CCC enrollees. Perhaps he does not go far enough in his discussion of the intersection of race and gender and the lived experiences of the women of the She-She-She camps. Yet *The New Deal's Forest Army* skillfully illuminates why the CCC remains a popular topic for scholars and students alike—the enduring power of an innovative program that paired unemployed youth with jobs and addressed immediate environmental and infrastructure problems.

Clark Atlanta University

AUBREY UNDERWOOD

How the New Deal Built Florida Tourism: The Civilian Conservation Corps and State Parks. By David J. Nelson. (Gainesville and other cities: University Press of Florida, 2019. Pp. xvi, 296. \$85.00, ISBN 978-0-8130-5631-9.)

One of the prevailing questions in southern history is "what defines the South?" Many historians have attempted to grapple with the nuances, uniqueness, and possible exceptionalism of the South. However, the generally accepted conclusion is that the South is a container for many different competing identities. David J. Nelson's book is a good example of how these different identities competed in a specific place (Florida) and at a specific time (the 1930s and 1940s). By focusing on the development of the Florida Park Service and the role

of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Nelson expertly examines how debates about Florida's identity during the New Deal era paved the way for the creation of Florida's modern tourist industry. Nelson argues that the Florida Park Service is the "direct product of the New Deal," and the philosophy of conservation promoted by the CCC is closely linked to Florida's extensive history of tourism (p. 1).

There is much to unpack in the history of the tourism industry for a state like Florida, but Nelson is able to uniquely link the exotic persona of Florida to the efforts of the CCC to construct and reconstruct nature. Leadership in Florida worked closely with New Deal initiatives to create a specific tropical space defined by orange groves, palm trees, and "a safe but exotic 'natural' environment" (p. 5). Florida was not, however, immune to the race and class issues that plagued the South during the Jim Crow era, such as lynchings, Confederate memorialization, conservative politics, and an influx of the poor, migrant working class. The chapters that discuss the conflict between so-called old and new Florida mention the CCC's continued quandary with African American companies, particularly in the South, but this portion of the book needs further development. Additionally, the chapters that discuss Florida's cracker culture and Florida's presentation at the 1933 Century of Progress International Exposition in Chicago read as a bit disjointed from the central argument. These few weaknesses do not detract from the book's ability to take the reader through a well-researched pivotal moment in Florida's history.

A good deal can be learned about American history from a deep analysis of the development of different state park systems. Nelson's work on the Florida Park Service is a good example of how New Deal progressivism of the 1930s and 1940s and the wider forces of the Great Depression influenced the economics and identity of an entire state. The CCC provided much-needed relief for unemployed young men during the Great Depression, and states like Florida capitalized on the manpower and resources to reconstruct the state's environment, physically and metaphorically, toward an economy centered on tourism. Nelson boldly argues that this period in Florida's history provides the clearest evidence of how Florida's identity as southern became contested. Yes, the influx of northern migrants and tourists diluted Florida's southernness, but the reshaping of Florida's landscape and imagery pushed Florida away from a conventional southern identity. Nelson succinctly concludes that the "[p]olitical, cultural, and social clashes in Florida in the latter half of the twentieth century originated in the selling of Florida in the 1930s" (p. 165).

I highly recommend this book to scholars of southern, environmental, or New Deal and Depression-era history. Additionally, this book will fit well in a course on early-twentieth-century United States history or in an environmental history course.

Langston University

NICHOLAS A. TIMMERMAN

Rufus: James Agee in Tennessee. By Paul F. Brown. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2018. Pp. xviii, 422. \$34.95, ISBN 978-1-62190-424-3.)

While a number of biographical studies of James Rufus Agee have been published, Paul F. Brown's recent *Rufus: James Agee in Tennessee* brings a

fresh perspective with its meticulously documented examination of Agee's life in Tennessee; the people, places, and events there that impacted his later life and writing; and the legacy of Agee in Tennessee. In fact, the book's introduction sets the stage with a compelling account of the tragic accident that became the defining event of Agee's life. The use of Agee's middle name, Rufus, by Agee's mother and others is thoroughly documented, and the preface and introduction offer a scholarly foundation for the material that follows. An impressive catalog of acknowledgments and illustrations evidences Brown's knowledge of geography and historical context. The extensive notes to each chapter and the bibliography at the end of the book are extraordinary in scope and expanse.

The book's six chapters span the years from 1818 to 2015, beginning with Agee's British, Hessian, and Huguenot ancestry and the origin of his middle name, passed down from his matrilineal great-grandfather Rufus Tyler. Historical detail is accompanied by early photographs of Knoxville, Tennessee, and of family members. Chapter 2 describes early experiences and relationships that assuredly shaped Agee's character and writing. From interviews with family members, close acquaintances, and neighbors, Brown has gleaned personal anecdotes, observations, and commentary to enrich his historical and biographical information. A centerpiece of Brown's study, chapter 3 provides what may be the most exhaustive examination to date of the circumstances of the 1916 death of Agee's father, Jay Agee, tracing various theories regarding the surrounding events as well as the location and cause of the fatal accident. While Brown freely confesses that "there are no records, not even a death certificate, to show which mortuary received Jay's body," one can be assured that if a record did exist, Brown would have included it, as his research is exhaustive (p. 117).

After the account of this tragic event, which altered the course of James Agee's life, additional chapters describe his early devotion to religion and his educational experiences, both in Knoxville at St. Andrews School, where he met his lifelong friend and mentor Father James Harold Flye, and later as a student at Phillips Exeter Academy and at Harvard University. While Agee seldom visited Knoxville after his departure in 1925, he named Tennessee one of a handful of "places [where] I feel really at home" (p. 173).

The final two chapters provide extensive discussion of Agee's Tennessee writings and of the ascendancy of Agee's literary reputation in Tennessee. A detailed history of publications, films, and memorial tributes culminates in an account of the establishment of a memorial park in his former Knoxville neighborhood, the James Agee Memorial Library at St. Andrews, and a 1989 conference held at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (1941). Lastly, the appendix returns to the 1962 film *All the Way Home*, which Brown sees as pivotal in Agee's rise from relative obscurity, and presents a contextualized narrative of the making of the film and of its reception in Knoxville and elsewhere.

Because the events of those early years were so formative, and particularly because the death of his father occurred while he was living in Tennessee, this

study promises to shed critical insight on the events commemorated in Agee's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel, *A Death in the Family* (1957), and on the entire corpus of Agee's writing.

Lee University

DONNA SUMMERLIN

World War II and American Racial Politics: Public Opinion, the Presidency, and Civil Rights Advocacy. By Steven White. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Pp. x, 207. \$99.99, ISBN 978-1-108-42763-0.)

In *World War II and American Racial Politics: Public Opinion, the Presidency, and Civil Rights Advocacy*, political scientist Steven White challenges an axiom of American historical memory: that World War II helped push white Americans toward more liberal views on race and civil rights. According to White, public memory and academic scholarship continue to perpetuate what he calls the "racial liberalization hypothesis," that widely unexamined idea "that fighting a war against Nazism led to an increase in white support for black civil rights" in the 1940s (pp. 30, 29). In a clever and ambitious move, White attempts to actually test whether this thesis holds up under empirical scrutiny. To do so, White examines a series of underutilized polling and survey data from the 1930s, 1940s, and 1960s to assess the degree to which white Americans, including military veterans, actually expressed changing views on race and civil rights as a result of wartime experience. Not surprisingly, White cites mixed results, concluding that the war's impact on political culture was "often far more heterogeneous than some accounts suggest" (p. 160). For example, White finds some limited evidence to support racial liberalization on a few specific policy points, like employment discrimination, while finding greater evidence to actually refute racial liberalization on more general issues. "Based on an analysis of the available survey evidence from the era," White concludes, "the war's impact on white racial attitudes is actually more limited than has been widely assumed" (p. 30). These findings prod historians to reexamine assumptions about the war's domestic cultural impact, suggesting a reordering of basic narratives taught every semester in high school and college classrooms.

Yet it is unlikely that White's interpretation of admittedly limited data will cause a sea change in collective understandings of World War II's impact. Simply put, the book's reliance on a small number of opinion polls as singular evidence of cultural change will likely fail to persuade most readers, even if the author's analysis is cogent and convincing. While historians have not delved into this data, few will be surprised by White's conclusion that the effects of contingent phenomena like wars "can be uneven and often surprising, [their] consequences both compelling and constraining" (p. 171). How might an analysis of other sources—literature, academia, film, radio—contribute to a fuller understanding of how the war altered public support for civil rights?

White's greater contribution, from a historian's perspective, lies in his analysis of why established civil rights organizations decided to "[turn] away from Congress—the branch most constrained by mass attitudes—toward the possibility of unilateral action by the president, particularly when domestic advocacy could be tied directly to the war effort" (p. 31). White also provides

rich material detailing the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration's awareness of civil rights activists' Double V campaign—victory against fascists overseas and Jim Crow at home—and White House efforts to simply “duck it” (p. 100). However, White's exclusive “[focus] on the national agenda promoted by the NAACP . . . in conjunction with labor leaders” all but ignores more radical voices in the political discourse (p. 13). Groups like the National Negro Congress and individuals like Paul Robeson, to take but two arbitrary examples, do not appear in the index, limiting coverage to moderates like Walter F. White and former leftists like A. Philip Randolph. Overall, *World War II and American Racial Politics* demonstrates excellence in research and writing, even if the author's effort to have historians reconsider the war's impact on the black freedom struggle falls short.

University of Alabama at Birmingham

ANDREW S. BAER

Unexampled Courage: The Blinding of Sgt. Isaac Woodard and the Awakening of President Harry S. Truman and Judge J. Waties Waring. By Richard Gergel. (New York: Sarah Crichton Books, 2019. Pp. [x], 324. \$27.00, ISBN 978-0-374-10789-5.)

Unexampled Courage: The Blinding of Sgt. Isaac Woodard and the Awakening of President Harry S. Truman and Judge J. Waties Waring, written by federal judge Richard Gergel, revisits a crucial decade in the historic struggle for African American civil rights. The book focuses on three individuals who played a determining role in the judicial and political battle against Jim Crow between 1946 and 1954: Sergeant Isaac Woodard, President Harry S. Truman, and Judge J. Waties Waring. A native of South Carolina, Gergel combines solid historical research with his personal knowledge of the South and the United States justice system to analyze a series of events and civil rights cases connecting the three protagonists of his study, which culminates in the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954.

His main thesis is that the beating and blinding of Isaac Woodard by a South Carolina police officer on the day of Woodard's discharge from military service in February 1946 stirred Truman and Waring into action in behalf of African American civil rights. Gergel articulates a dramatic narrative in three parts. After providing a detailed account of the criminal beating and its tragic impact on the soldier's life, Gergel describes the transformative effect of these events on the president and the judge and analyzes the subsequent actions taken by these two federal officials, with a focus on Waring's personal journey from racial gradualist to activist jurist.

The research weaves legal and biographical material to serve several purposes. Gergel first sheds light on forgotten heroes by demonstrating the significance of Woodard's case in history and Waring's contribution to overturning the separate-but-equal doctrine in 1954. He then reasserts Truman's commitment to African American civil rights. Finally, he emphasizes the contribution of the American criminal justice system in the long civil rights movement by documenting the role of federal courts in the struggle for racial justice.

The originality of the study lies in its pairing of different perspectives often presented as antagonistic. By choosing to tell the intersecting stories of a

forgotten black soldier on the one hand and of two white men of power on the other, Gergel intertwines bottom-up and top-down history. Through the skillful use of several approaches, such as biography (based on autobiographical writings, interviews, personal papers, and previously published biographies), legal analysis (from judicial sources), and institutional and political history (based on governmental and organizational material, press articles, and secondary sources), Gergel's thorough investigation of the Woodard case and its impact on key actors demonstrates that the dismantling of Jim Crow after World War II was only made possible by a conjunction of grassroots and institutional forces. Another achievement of the book is the humanization of history by probing the inner lives of its agents, known and unknown. As the title suggests, throughout the volume Gergel emphasizes the importance of feelings and emotions in the transformation of individuals and, ultimately, of society. This is one of the many assets of the biographical approach, which builds on personal experiences to interpret collective history.

Biography also has its limits, which include the risk of underestimating social and political factors and overestimating the role of particular circumstances in the broader course of events. Gergel, for instance, could have devoted more space to discussing the role of the Cold War in Truman's concern for African American civil rights between 1946 and 1948. Although Gergel provides unquestionable evidence of the impact of Woodard's story on the president, the author might have picked other contextual elements as equally decisive in Truman's decision to appoint the President's Committee on Civil Rights in December 1946. As for the book as a whole, if Gergel dedicates his study to three men and praises many "diverse, courageous citizens, some prominent and others from humble backgrounds," he clearly makes Waring and the federal courts his true heroes, thus favoring a top-down perspective on history while recognizing the agency of ordinary citizens (p. 250). Waring deserves such treatment, just as the blinding of Woodard deserves to be remembered as an important episode of American history. In that sense, Gergel's expertly documented study constitutes an important contribution to civil rights historiography.

University of Toulouse–Jean Jaurès

ANNE STEFANI

They Stole Him Out of Jail: Willie Earle, South Carolina's Last Lynching Victim. By William B. Gravely. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2019. Pp. xxvi, 309. \$29.99, ISBN 978-1-61117-937-8.)

They Stole Him Out of Jail: Willie Earle, South Carolina's Last Lynching Victim by William B. Gravely is an important local history of the last lynching in South Carolina. This history illustrates how the seamless corruption of security forces, judiciary limitations, and jury nullification combined to protect lynchers. The split between the FBI and the state judiciary created space for the lynchers to manipulate the system and avoid punishment.

Someone robbed, stabbed, and beat a white taxi driver, Thomas Watson Brown of the Greenville Yellow Cab Company, in February 1947. Brown claimed it was a large black man. Police arrested Willie Earle, who was five feet, nine inches tall, 150 pounds, and a drunken veteran, claiming that he was the

perpetrator. A mob of taxi drivers broke Earle out of jail, with no resistance from the jailer, on February 17, the day Brown died from his injuries. They beat Earle so hard that they split the butt of a rifle; they repeatedly stabbed him and finally blew half of his face away with a single-barrel shotgun. Later federal investigation showed that the police probably misidentified Earle, and only circumstantial evidence connected him to the attack.

Earle's death set off a political firestorm, leading to a federal-state turf war and overt, smirking jury nullification. The case received an enormous amount of press attention in the North. Inexplicable mistakes and decisions by the state prosecutors, as well as white supremacy, led to a jury refusing to convict the confessed, grinning, open members of the mob despite overwhelming evidence.

Gravely has made masterful use of his sources. He utilizes multiple manuscript collections, memoirs, African American press accounts, white local newspaper accounts, the letters and notebook of renowned British journalist Rebecca West, court documents, and interviews with Earle's mother, Tessie Earle, and several others. The deaths of some of the major players left gaps that were hard to fill about motivation and the coordination of the accused lynchers' stories. Gravely is an accomplished scholar and author, a professor emeritus at the University of Denver. He is also a native of Pickens County, South Carolina, where the lynchers murdered Earle, which gave him certain advantages in accessing interviews with witnesses.

Gravely's writing is engaging and lyrical. The first chapter hooks the reader. The author weaves his analysis throughout the chronological text, keeping the state-federal fight between J. Edgar Hoover's FBI and the state of South Carolina judicial system front and center. The masterful use of language and the clear writing style lead the reader through the court proceedings.

This work has a few weaknesses. The chapter "Discovering Willie Earle" discusses Earle's life and character, but in that chapter, only two pages discuss Earle's character and life, his epilepsy, and his arrests in 1946 for drunkenness. The most salient, and tragic, sentence in this chapter explains the mob fury: "The specter of the violent black male dwarfed any reasonable effort to find out about the real Willie Earle" (p. 92). Earle's veteran status needs more attention. The epilepsy is given short shrift by the author.

The reader will come away with a clearer understanding of how Jim Crow, judicial competition, white supremacy, and corruption prevented the enforcement of rights for African Americans against lynching in the South. This work ties local history in South Carolina to the national and regional racial movements of the time, making it important for both historians and interested casual readers.

University of Wisconsin–Eau
Claire

SELIKA M. DUCKSWORTH-LAWTON

The Letters of Flannery O'Connor and Caroline Gordon. Edited by Christine Flanagan. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2018. Pp. xviii, 254. \$32.95, ISBN 978-0-8203-5408-8.)

Edited by Christine Flanagan, *The Letters of Flannery O'Connor and Caroline Gordon* traces the remarkable friendship of two of the most prominent

women of southern letters through more than a decade of correspondence and supplemental documentation that adds significant dimension to their relationship. Although attempts to collect, edit, and anthologize their letters were made in the 1970s and 1980s—most notably by Sally Fitzgerald, who was friends with both authors—this volume is a noteworthy addition to the Flannery O'Connor and Caroline Gordon literature due to its completeness and its historical contextualization (through Flanagan's interspersed commentary) of their correspondence and the post-World War II southern literary circle to which they belonged.

As the wife of poet and New Critic Allen Tate, and as a novelist and short story writer in her own right, Gordon interacted and collaborated with American authors who were active during the interwar and postwar years, from Vanderbilt Agrarians John Crowe Ransom and Robert Penn Warren; to Modernists Hart Crane, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, T. S. Eliot, and Robert Lowell; to southern Gothic writers William Faulkner and Flannery O'Connor. Gordon first encountered O'Connor when she was asked to review a manuscript of *Wise Blood* (1952), O'Connor's first novel. This sparked a thirteen-year friendship that lasted until O'Connor's death from lupus—their relationship, as this collection illustrates, involved extensive letter-writing between Gordon, the mentor, and O'Connor, the protégée.

As Flanagan expresses in her introduction, the edited volume is the result of years of scavenging in the archives—specifically those at Georgia College and State University, Princeton University, Vanderbilt University, Emory University, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill—which yielded the sixty-six letters featured in the collection, sixty of which have never been previously published. The letters are notable for their insight into the craft of writing, how each author shaped the other's work, and how their mutual, constructive criticism contributed to the evolution of what have become literary classics. As Flanagan contends, "Scholars who have argued over how much credence O'Connor placed in Gordon's comments might now reexamine O'Connor manuscripts to evaluate the impact of Gordon's teaching, both on O'Connor's style and content" (p. 14). Moreover, these primary sources also function as a window into the lives of the two women, particularly the challenges they faced in the male-dominated genre of fiction.

The Letters of Flannery O'Connor and Caroline Gordon is divided into five parts: the first four focus on the O'Connor works *Wise Blood* (1952), *A Good Man Is Hard to Find and Other Stories* (1953), "The Enduring Chill" (1965), and "Revelation" (1965) and their associated correspondence. Part 5 examines the period between O'Connor's and Gordon's deaths, mostly through Gordon's correspondence with mutual friend Ashley Brown and editor Robert Giroux. By far the shortest section, Part 5 is perhaps the most poignant, for it demonstrates how Gordon remained O'Connor's staunch supporter, even after the latter's untimely death in 1964, perpetuating O'Connor's legacy until Gordon's own death in 1981 by sharing O'Connor's work with a new generation of readers and writers.

Hacettepe University

TANFER EMIN TUNÇ

The Rise and Fall of the Branchhead Boys: North Carolina's Scott Family and the Era of Progressive Politics. By Rob Christensen. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019. Pp. [xii], 323. \$30.00, ISBN 978-1-4696-5104-0.)

Rob Christensen, a former North Carolina political reporter and columnist for the *Raleigh News and Observer*, has produced a remarkable book about the Scott family and its influence on North Carolina progressive politics. This book spans three generations of the Scott family, which included W. Kerr Scott, a former agriculture commissioner, governor, and United States senator; Robert W. "Bob" Scott, a lieutenant governor, governor, and later president of the North Carolina Community College System; and his daughter Meg Scott Phipps, a judge and state commissioner of agriculture. Christensen also covers the demise of progressive politics in the state, which coincided with the civil rights movement and the election of Jesse Helms to the Senate. Christensen uses numerous primary sources, including family papers, diaries, letters, newspapers, oral histories, and government documents, as well as abundant secondary sources, to tell his engaging story.

When W. Kerr Scott ran for governor in 1949, he bypassed the local courthouse ring, as well as the political machines in the state, by successfully carving out his political support from the farmers who lived at the head of the branches in the rural areas of the state (or branchhead boys). He campaigned on bringing better roads, electricity, and telephones to the rural areas of the state. Scott's political savviness enabled him to get a \$200 million bond issue to build better roads in rural North Carolina. While he was governor, Scott took heat from his critics for paving many roads near his farm in Alamance County.

He also wanted to see improvements in race relations between black and white North Carolinians. During his inauguration in Memorial Auditorium in Raleigh, he even allowed a delegation of black people to sit on the main floor instead of in the balcony. Although he appointed one African American to the state board of education, his overall record on civil rights was dismal. Black people could vote in major cities in the 1950s in North Carolina, but they "were often prevented from voting in rural areas" (p. 73).

With the help of Terry Sanford, his campaign business manager, W. Kerr Scott won a U.S. Senate seat in 1954. After the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, Scott became a member of the southern bloc of Democrats in the Senate who were opposed to civil rights. He served only four years of his six-year term; he had a major heart attack and died at the age of sixty-one.

When W. Kerr Scott's son, Bob Scott, became governor in 1969, he faced many contentious issues, such as desegregation and busing, that dominated North Carolina; the issue of race, particularly, caused many branchhead boys to remove their allegiance from the Democratic Party and to vote Republican. One of Bob Scott's greatest political achievements while he was governor was the reorganization and consolidation of the state's sixteen public college campuses.

Elected North Carolina commissioner of agriculture in 2000, Meg Scott Phipps, the daughter of Bob Scott, became embroiled in a scandal when she took money from a state fair vendor. Phipps later pled guilty to violating three

federal campaign finance laws, and she served a two-year prison sentence at a federal prison in West Virginia.

The Rise and Fall of the Branchhead Boys: North Carolina's Scott Family and the Era of Progressive Politics provides fascinating insights into North Carolina's progressive politics in the twentieth century. Moreover, it won the 2019 Ragan Old North Award for Nonfiction from the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association for the best book on a topic related to North Carolina. This book will appeal to a wide audience ranging from the general reader to graduate students interested in learning more about how the Scott family influenced North Carolina progressive politics in the twentieth century.

Campbell University

LLOYD JOHNSON

A Little Child Shall Lead Them: A Documentary Account of the Struggle for School Desegregation in Prince Edward County, Virginia. Edited by Brian J. Daugherty and Brian Grogan. Carter G. Woodson Institute Series. (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2019. Pp. xxiv, 263. Paper, \$29.50, ISBN 978-0-8139-4272-8; cloth, \$59.50, ISBN 978-0-8139-4271-1.)

Before federal immigration policy jeopardized child welfare with mass detentions and family separations, the school crisis in Farmville, Virginia, during the 1950s was an origin for present-day austerity politics. Brian J. Daugherty and Brian Grogan have compiled a timely document collection that captures the inception of modern conservatism in rural America, set during the civil rights struggle's modern phase and white supremacist resistance. African American student activists like Barbara Johns spearheaded fights for quality education in a rigidly segregated rural community. Inspired by teacher Inez Davenport, Johns initiated a 1951 student-led boycott of Robert R. Moton High School; hundreds of black pupils fled "'tar paper shacks'" and demanded a modern school (p. 34). Included here are a litany of documents emphasizing the local, state, and national developments of central Virginia's long, complex march toward unitary schooling. The editors have divided the collection into seven chapters along with a prologue—containing the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) opinions and the 1924 Virginia Racial Integrity Act—and an epilogue providing writings on racial reconciliation from the 1990s. The intervening chapters include major sources covering women and the black freedom struggle, resistance to the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision, and the inception of dog whistle politics.

In 1959 Prince Edward County, Virginia, opted for an "'extreme step'" by closing all of its public schools, thereby depriving some 2,700 African American children of any form of education for five years (p. 112). Sources for integration in Virginia allow readers to examine the absurdity of segregation; in particular, Edwin B. Henderson's article from 1957 explains how segregationist policies served white Virginians' economic interests. "Once segregation is outmoded," he writes, "educated and intelligent Negroes will become competitors in a free society" for professional employment (p. 104). He likewise notes segregationists' fears of miscegenation while they ignored the racial intermixing prevalent in the state's population.

The sources in chapter 4 highlight the national response to such extreme forms of racial conservatism, and the editors introduce the documents with contextual information regarding segregationists' tactics—vacillating between massive resistance and delay. Once the county board ceased funding public schools, the decision created chaos and upheaval for black and white children. "The entire social fabric of the county was disrupted," Daughterity and Grogan note (p. 114). White students attended white private academies in basements and movie theaters, while many black children "left the county to live with relatives" (p. 114).

The editors' sources and contextual introductions illuminate an aspect of the civil rights era in which "'patriotic constitutionalists'" concealed white supremacy in coded policies that ripped children from their rural Virginia community (p. 62). Daughterity and Grogan exemplify this major theme by juxtaposing sources by civil rights attorneys Spottswood W. Robinson III and Oliver W. Hill and segregationists James J. Kilpatrick and Harry F. Byrd Sr., among others. The chronological documentary format makes the work a nice complement to Jill Oglie Titus's monograph, Brown's *Battleground: Students, Segregationists, and the Struggle for Justice in Prince Edward County, Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 2011).

Arkansas State University, Beebe

KEVIN B. JOHNSON

Let the People See: The Story of Emmett Till. By Elliott J. Gorn. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. Pp. xii, 380. \$27.95, ISBN 978-0-19-932512-2.)

Several scholars have written about Emmett Till, and many consider his death to have been a catalyst for the civil rights movement. However, confusion still persists, and our recollection of Till is often based in emotion and myth instead of facts and scholarship. Elliott J. Gorn's goal in *Let the People See: The Story of Emmett Till* is not only to provide the complete story of what happened to the fourteen-year-old Chicagoan who was brutally murdered in Money, Mississippi, but also "to take it seriously as a story" (p. 4). In thirty-four short chapters, divided into four sections, he analyzes a vast amount of primary and secondary source material. Gorn humanizes everyone at the center of Till's story and provides an intimate portrait of the locations and people involved in Till's brief life.

Gorn connects every detail of Till's life, murder, and trial in a fashion similar to an investigative journalist while using his training as a scholar to deeply examine the sources. He analyzes court transcripts and newspaper articles to place readers inside the courtroom, in Mississippi, and in Chicago before, during, and after the trial. He includes the national news coverage from mainstream publications such as the *New York Times* and the black press's *Chicago Defender*. He also uses local and regional papers, such as the Jackson (Miss.) *Clarion-Ledger* and the Memphis *Press-Scimitar*. Newspapers not only provide the story but also illustrate the environment in which they were printed. Black newsmen encountered racism while covering the trial, but they and white journalists also worked together to find additional suspects who many locals believed had participated in the crime. Gorn's inclusion of the NAACP records allows readers to see not only how the

organization assisted with Till's case but also how it used the tragedy to serve its own purpose by increasing membership numbers.

The last section examines how Americans memorialized, forgot, and later remembered Emmett Till. Gorn analyzes decades of newspapers, magazines, and television specials that show a regression of coverage of Till. Immediately after the trial, some white people wanted to keep Till's murder from fading from memory because they profited by creating books, movies, songs, and plays. Others (especially white southerners) quickly forgot or created myths to justify his death. However, Gorn's examination of memoirs and biographies shows that black civil rights leaders during the 1960s used the murder as motivation because it had been an integral part of their childhoods. By the end of the next decade, Till's story had vanished completely from mainstream popular culture. However, it was resurrected in 1986 when NBC aired a story nationwide on Till that was produced by a local Chicago reporter. The next year, the PBS documentary *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Movement* reached households across America. It was the first time many white Americans saw Till's mutilated body. Gorn concludes with details about the Emmett Till Unsolved Civil Rights Crime Act of 2008.

Dividing the manuscript into small chapters allows Gorn to tell a complete and coherent story. Though the massive amount of detail may be overbearing for younger readers, the narrative tone of this book makes it easy to follow, and readers will want to read every page. The inclusion of recent events in which Till's name has been invoked connects past and present generations to the story. Overall, *Let the People See* provides a comprehensive and well-written account of Till's brief life that can be appreciated by scholars and most general readers.

Tarrant County College

JAMES CONWAY

Black Man in the Huddle: Stories from the Integration of Texas Football. By Robert D. Jacobus. Foreword by Annette Gordon-Reed. Swaim-Paup Sports Series. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2019. Pp. xx, 255. \$29.95, ISBN 978-1-62349-751-4.)

At a glance, using a sport, which measures progress by the inch, strictly enforces its long list of rules by penalizing every infraction, and almost always anoints a victor at the end of a finite time frame, to view the long arduous process of racial integration in American education appears misguided. However, the nuances of American football require twenty-two players to perform specific tasks on every play, often in unequal two-against-one situations, and frequently push the boundaries of the rules as far as possible without committing an obvious penalty—while regularly stopping the clock. Football might be an appropriate lens to view desegregation after all. In *Black Man in the Huddle: Stories from the Integration of Texas Football*, Robert D. Jacobus traces the arc from *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950) to *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and through another decade of conflicting legal interpretations as desegregation happened to black student athletes in Texas. The collection of rich stories that make up the book illuminates the racial and regional nuances—and the significance of sport—in leveling the playing field of American education.

Jacobus conducted more than 250 interviews to inform this oral history of integrating Texas football. The book is encyclopedic in nature, yet lightly editorialized, so that the book reads as a series of stories, often directly quoted, from those who participated in breaking racial barriers as high school or college student athletes. Through the chorus of voices a few refrains rise. Many remembered coaches hustling them from the field to the bus as spectators from another town hurled insults or threats. While virtually all the interviewees were denied seating, if not food, at restaurants when the team traveled, several shared the same experience of white teammates refusing to sit or eat without them, applying pressure on the bulwarks of Jim Crow mores.

However, the diversity of experiences and opinions is the strength of the book. Readers are swept across the state and must reckon with stark disparities between how school integration was implemented from the Gulf Coast to the Texas Panhandle, in urban centers and rural communities. The memories of Latino football players underscore how those racial lines blurred for Latinx students. Although football fields in Texas integrated with more “deliberate speed” than public schools in other southern states, as evidenced by a “fully integrated” game between Robstown High School and Refugio High School in September 1955, Jacobus’s interviewees remind readers that it was far from a seamless transition (p. 66).

After their high school careers, black Texas football players realized few opportunities to play in their home state, beyond historically black colleges and universities like Texas Southern University. An exodus of those seeking better scholarships and services from postsecondary institutions on the West Coast or in the North, especially in the Big Ten Conference, followed. These oral histories document both push and pull factors, including a network of coaches who began recruiting black student athletes from Texas high schools in an “Underground Railroad” to Big Ten programs (p. 182). But even at these integrated institutions, the persistence of racial conflict over issues from positional stacking—excluding black players from positions typically associated with leadership roles—to restricting facial hair resulted in team boycotts and player expulsions. These oral histories, without explicitly stating it, intersect with Harry Edwards’s *The Revolt of the Black Athlete* (New York, 1969) and make these Texas memories part of a national narrative. *Black Man in the Huddle* is a valuable resource for new interview material at the nexus of race, sport, and education in Texas that scholars and students can use to forge broader connections across time and space.

Nichols College

ANDREW R. M. SMITH

Blood, Sweat, and Tears: Jake Gaither, Florida A&M, and the History of Black College Football. By Derrick E. White. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019. Pp. [xiv], 303. \$30.00, ISBN 978-1-4696-5244-3.)

While Martin Luther King Jr. and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference were winning civil rights victories, Alonzo “Jake” Gaither and his Florida A&M University football team were winning championships. Derrick E. White’s *Blood, Sweat, and Tears: Jake Gaither, Florida A&M, and the History of Black College Football* demonstrates that while the latter might not be the equivalent of the former, sporting success was not inconsequential in the

era of the civil rights movement. White makes his case through a description of “sporting congregations,” emanating from “the faith in Black-controlled athletics for the betterment of the university and the community” (p. 9). These secular mirrors of the bodies led by ministers like King reflected the push for quantifiable achievement and for improved educational institutions. The successful black college football programs that those congregations supported also demonstrated the tensions between a desire for the structural benefits of integration without the sacrifice of cultural autonomy that typically came with it.

White describes football’s role in and representation of such dilemmas by telling the story of Gaither, who grew up in the upper South in the early twentieth century and attended Knoxville College during the 1920s. He joined the coaching staff of Florida A&M the following decade, eventually became the program’s head coach and athletic director, and served at the helm of one of history’s most successful football programs during the volatile civil rights era, winning seven national titles while King and his congregations were winning victories of their own.

Gaither and his Florida A&M team are perfect vehicles for White’s narrative, as they were on the tip of the spear for the potential costs involved with integration. To build his congregation, Gaither’s program graduated future high school coaches and placed them around Florida. He created a system whereby segregated education served as a pipeline to athletic and academic success for generations of students. It was a system that collapsed under the weight of integration, so when Gaither balked at some of integration’s dictates, some saw him as part of the problem. The Black Power movement was no more charitable, seeing Gaither as a comfortable middle-class power broker who benefited from the racial status quo. That criticism was not entirely unjust, but White’s narrative makes it clear that the story was far more complicated. After all, “[Florida A&M] spent the last three decades of the twentieth century chasing Gaither’s coaching legend” (p. 222). Such chasings were not the result of incompetence in hiring or coaching. As white universities in the South sought integration to feather their own athletic nests, the attendant media story of triumph often hid the erosion of those historically black college and university (HBCU) programs that were so central to White’s “sporting congregations.” In other words, Gaither’s wariness proved prescient.

White also uses Gaither and Florida A&M to tell the much broader tale of the rise and fall of HBCU athletics, the ancillary casualties of the push for integration, and the role of racial assumptions in state educational funding and sports media priorities in the creation of hierarchies, which always gave preference to whiteness but at the same time left space for the creation of legitimate and meaningful black sporting congregations. And though Florida A&M is the principal subject of the book, the congregations at Morgan State University, Grambling State University, Tennessee State University, and Southern University all play a role in the narrative. White’s story is not a hagiographic one of triumph that sometimes enters the genre of sport history. The ebbs and flows of Florida A&M’s success, and the racial and representational reasons for such movements, are incredibly instructive for anyone

interested in either black college athletics or the larger story of integration, or for anyone who appreciates a great football story.

Valdosta State University

THOMAS AIELLO

New Orleans Sports: Playing Hard in the Big Easy. Edited by Thomas Aiello. Sport, Culture, and Society. (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2019. Pp. xxiv, 328. Paper, \$29.95, ISBN 978-1-68226-100-2.)

New Orleans Sports: Playing Hard in the Big Easy is a collection of thirteen diverse chapters linked by an attempt to explain the unique sporting culture and the broader history of New Orleans from the nineteenth century to the recent past. This work is part of the excellent University of Arkansas Press series Sport, Culture, and Society, which uses the study of sport to illuminate diverse aspects of history, including race, economics, gender, urbanization, and much more.

The book's editor, Thomas Aiello, is well positioned to oversee the construction of this work. Aiello serves as an associate professor of history and African American studies at Valdosta State University. He is the author of several excellent works, including *Bayou Classic: The Grambling-Southern Football Rivalry* (Baton Rouge, 2010). The chapters in *New Orleans Sports* are written by seventeen authors in addition to Aiello. Aiello has assembled a diverse collection of contributors from a wide array of academic disciplines, backgrounds, and career stages. In general, each chapter is written by an author or team of authors who appear well equipped to tackle the topic.

This book makes an important contribution to the scholarship. The historiography on sports in New Orleans has long been dominated by Dale A. Somers's monograph, *The Rise of Sports in New Orleans, 1850–1900* (Baton Rouge, 1972). Aiello and the other authors attempt to “pay homage” to Somers's work while also expanding on it, primarily by discussing the twentieth century, an era outside Somers's scope (p. xii). *New Orleans Sports* is divided into three sections, each focusing on a theme and each consisting of four or five chapters.

The first section in the book, “Victorian Sensibilities,” focuses on “the class dynamic of sports in the city” (p. xvi). In recognition of Somers's influence, the first chapter is a reprint of Somers's “A City on Wheels: The Bicycle Era in New Orleans.” Somers explains the transmission of bicycling from the urban middle class of New York to New Orleans and explores the gendered dynamic of one of the few sports in which women competed against men. The next chapter, by Katherine C. Mooney, argues that horse racing in the city had roots in slavery. Randy Roberts writes the book's third chapter on the longest boxing match in history, a more than six-hour struggle between New Orleans “mulatto” Andy Bowen and “Texas” Jack Burke (p. 36). Aiello writes the final chapter in the section on the complicated class-based “restrictive exclusivity” of tennis in New Orleans (p. 46).

The volume's second section, “Institutions of the City,” explores how important institutions shaped and were shaped by “the city's infrastructure and civic development” (p. xviii). This section begins with a chapter by Richard V. McGehee on the influential New Orleans Athletic Club. Chad S. Seifried, Kasey Britt, Samantha Gonzales, and Alexa Webb write the work's next chapter on Tulane Stadium, which they claim provides an example of the relationship between physical structures and technologies in the creation of a

consumer-based sporting culture. Michael S. Martin uses the next chapter to argue that Louisiana senator Russell B. Long helped the National Football League sidestep antitrust laws, when it merged with the American Football League in 1966, in exchange for founding a new team in New Orleans. Robert A. Baade, Victor A. Matheson, and Callan N. Hendershott provide a statistically focused examination of New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, which concludes, “The role of sports in the economic recovery of the city is dubious aside from serving as a symbol that the city remains vital” (p. 147).

The book’s third and final section, “Race and Respectability,” discusses the powerful racial issues that shaped almost every aspect of sports in New Orleans. Stephen H. Norwood leads the final section with a chapter on the racialized ideology of the Sugar Bowl, which “helped solidify an image of New Orleans outside the South as stagnant and insular” (p. 176). The next chapter, written by Mark Dyreson, studies the Southern Association of the Amateur Athletic Union’s battle to maintain white supremacy, only allowing admission of African American members in 1989. Gregory L. Richard and Aiello partner on this section’s third chapter, which argues of the Amateur Athletic Union and the American Football League that “[t]he pace of such racial awakenings, then, was never about moral reckonings” but “instead about proximity to tangible economic benefits” (p. 217). In the work’s next-to-last chapter, Stacy Lynn Tanner examines challenges of race and gender faced by the New Orleans Pride, a team of the Women’s Professional Basketball League between 1979 and 1981 that gave “the city a team to be proud of” during the league’s short existence (p. 239). In the book’s final chapter, Elizabeth Booksh Burns argues that the 2009 Super Bowl victory by the New Orleans Saints provided short-term positive effects for the city’s residents, but she cautions that additional studies will be required to determine if the championship delivered any long-term benefits.

New Orleans Sports is an excellent book overall. It is well written and well researched, and it provides easily digestible insights from several leading scholars of sport history. It will appeal to anyone interested in sport history, urban history, or the history of Louisiana. The work will be particularly helpful to anyone teaching courses on those subjects.

National Park College

CHRISTOPHER THRASHER

The Papers of Howard Washington Thurman. Volume 5: The Wider Ministry, January 1963–April 1981. Edited by Walter Earl Fluker. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2019. Pp. xcvi, 336. \$59.99, ISBN 978-1-61117-949-1.)

Although greatly anticipated and warmly welcomed, this book’s publication is also extremely bittersweet. On one hand, this fifth and final volume of *The Papers of Howard Washington Thurman* is a landmark achievement. On the other hand, this book’s arrival serves as a somber reminder of the absence of a complex and compelling spiritual figure like Howard Washington Thurman at a time when American society has been shaken to its core by the so-called culture wars, which have fueled a deeply polarized political landscape since Thurman’s death nearly forty years ago. No matter how eagerly anticipated this volume has been, this realization does nothing to blunt the overall weight that accompanies the inevitable end of this invaluable, decade-long documentary project.

Titled *The Wider Ministry*, Volume 5 covers the later years of Thurman's life, from his retirement in January 1963 until his death in April 1981. Thematically, this volume hinges on a concise yet pivotal question: namely, what is the meaning of success for an extraordinary figure such as Thurman? In their beautifully written biographical essay, the project editors, under Walter Earl Fluker's sagacious leadership, assert that this phase of Thurman's life enabled him to focus on his own hopes and dreams unfettered by attachments to any institution, either sacred or secular. This volume illustrates the various ways that Thurman and his devotees sought to guarantee that his sermons, seminars, and scholarly writings would endure for generations to come. But, as the concluding biographical essay and subsequent evidentiary materials demonstrate, Thurman and his most die-hard supporters were continuously challenged in their efforts to establish greater prominence for him and his teachings in the public consciousness. In addition to the publishing of his final three books—*The Luminous Darkness: A Personal Interpretation of the Anatomy of Segregation and the Ground of Hope* (1965), *The Search for Common Ground* (1971), and *With Head and Heart: The Autobiography of Howard Thurman* (1979)—this period was further marked by Thurman and his colleagues creating listening rooms and seminars to bolster the dissemination of his ideas beyond the confines of traditional church or academic contexts. Most significant, he and his wife, Sue Bailey Thurman, established the Howard Thurman Educational Trust as a mechanism to advance educational opportunities for young African Americans in accordance with the religious worldview and spiritual disciplines he had advanced throughout his lifetime.

Thurman was noteworthy as a prophetic champion of racial justice, gender equality, Christian mysticism, and national identity, but this book also reveals some facets of his purview that might be considered rather unexpected both then and now. For example, in a letter dated July 2, 1969, to the Reverend Frank Wilson, a longtime Presbyterian Church official and good friend, Thurman openly ridiculed James Forman's demand for reparations from churches, claiming, "who am I to compete with the prophet of the 21st Century, Foreman [*sic*]" (p. 203). Later, Thurman jokingly remarked that Forman's "cohorts invaded [the Presbyterian Church's] headquarters while he [Forman] himself was 'manifestoing' on the floor of the General Assembly" (p. 203). Given Forman's pivotal role in advancing the Black Manifesto, a boldly prophetic document by Black Power activists calling for \$500 million from white American churches and synagogues as reparations for chattel slavery, it is rather surprising that Thurman was so dismissive of the movement's tactics and goals. On the whole, it is difficult to understand Thurman's opposition to and disdain for the proposals and postures of the young generation of Black Power advocates. Nevertheless, it is not in spite of, but because of, such a seeming paradox that this volume will provide attentive scholars and students countless opportunities to contemplate Thurman's vast scholarly and spiritual legacy well into the future.

Vanderbilt University

JUAN M. FLOYD-THOMAS

The Men and the Moment: The Election of 1968 and the Rise of Partisan Politics in America. By Aram Goudsouzian. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019. Pp. xvi, 220. \$25.00, ISBN 978-1-4696-5109-5.)

In *The Men and the Moment: The Election of 1968 and the Rise of Partisan Politics in America*, Aram Goudsouzian provides a detailed, authoritative, well-written, and often gripping account of the tumultuous election year of 1968. Goudsouzian, a professor of history at the University of Memphis, provides an account of the 1968 election structured by those who primarily shaped that election. Most of these men were presidential candidates (Robert F. Kennedy, Eugene J. McCarthy, and Hubert H. Humphrey for the Democrats; Nelson A. Rockefeller, Ronald Reagan, and Richard M. Nixon for the Republicans; and the American Independent Party candidate George C. Wallace). However, *The Men and the Moment* begins with an examination of the incumbent president and (as 1968 began) expected candidate, Lyndon B. Johnson, who on March 31, 1968, stunned the country by announcing his withdrawal from the presidential race.

Goudsouzian organizes the book by personalities. The first eight of the book's ten chapters paint a portrait of each leader, alternating between political parties. Chapter 9 focuses on the 1968 fall campaign, tracing Humphrey's declining fortunes into late September and his comeback in October and early November and documenting the common wisdom that, had the election been held one week later than it was, Humphrey might have won. Chapter 10 considers the aftermath of the election, especially its role in ending the fifth party system—the era of Democratic Party national dominance since the 1930s.

Goudsouzian's writing style is energetic, accessible, and at times laced with verve and wit. For instance, Miami Beach, Florida, the host city for the 1968 National Republican Convention, is described as full of "gaudy replica architecture"; its nightclubs "glittered with fleshy delights"; and the city itself was "a bubble of indulgence . . . a sun-drenched oasis from the crises of race and crime and poverty and Vietnam" (p. 80). Goudsouzian describes the "violent energy" at Wallace's rallies; the "cool dignity" of McCarthy, matching the "[n]o hippie style" of his "'Neat and Clean for Gene'" youthful supporters; and Humphrey's status as "an icon of national malaise" during the summer of 1968 (pp. 117, 36, 95).

Initially, this reviewer was skeptical of Goudsouzian's organizing the book around the year's major political personalities. After reading *The Men and the Moment*, however, this organization was successful. The drawback of this approach is that the book tends to jump forward and backward chronologically. Outweighing this, however, is the intense focus on each political leader and the exhaustive documentation, which is contained in sixty-one pages of endnotes. Also helpful is the 1968 election timeline in the appendix, chronicling events from January 2, when Wallace succeeded in getting his name on the California ballot, to November 6, when Nixon was confirmed as the election winner and president-elect.

Overall, *The Men and the Moment* is an excellent read. I highly recommend it to both academic audiences, especially in American history and politics, and general readers. Two minor shortcomings stand out. First, notwithstanding the engaging writing and rapt attention to detail, it is not immediately clear what

Goudsouzian was setting out to add to existing accounts of the 1968 election. I did not see any mention of where previous studies have fallen short or left questions unanswered. *The Men and the Moment* seems not well grounded in past works, such as Theodore H. White's *The Making of the President: 1968* (New York, 1969). Second, the coverage of the aftermath of the 1968 election struck this reviewer as extremely brief and cursory. The book's title ends with "and the Rise of Partisan Politics in America," but it seems there is little to no discussion of the ramifications of 1968 for rising partisan polarization in the years since. To this reviewer, the book would benefit from an eleventh chapter, examining the impact of the forces and passions unleashed by the 1968 election on the sharpening of partisan loyalties and conflicts since. Such a chapter might give prominent consideration to the rise of the Christian Right in the 1970s and the use of racialized campaign rhetoric and themes in more recent elections.

Minnesota State University, Mankato

FRED SLOCUM

A Terrible Thing to Waste: Arthur Fletcher and the Conundrum of the Black Republican. By David Hamilton Golland. (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2019. Pp. [viii], 400. \$39.95, ISBN 978-0-7006-2764-6.)

David Hamilton Golland's biography of Arthur Allen Fletcher (1924–2005), the influential black Republican who was the architect of the Revised Philadelphia Plan and the "father of affirmative action enforcement," reads like an American political tragedy (p. 1). Established in 1967 and revised in 1969, the Philadelphia Plan was designed to integrate segregated building construction trade unions through mandated hiring goals in federal contracts. As the government official most responsible for the revised plan, Fletcher also laid the foundations for the expansion of affirmative action initiatives during the early years of President Richard M. Nixon's administration.

Golland provides a thorough and at times plodding account of Fletcher's life and what it tells us about the history of the Republican Party's relationship to its African American loyalists, especially those, like Fletcher, who were major advocates for civil rights. Other scholars have mined this fraught history, particularly from the 1930s to the 1970s, but *A Terrible Thing to Waste: Arthur Fletcher and the Conundrum of the Black Republican* makes the party's betrayal of its commitment to racial egalitarianism deeply personal and surprisingly vivid. This is the power of biography. The climax arrives near the middle of the book in chapter 4. "After nearly three years with the Nixon administration" as the assistant secretary of labor from 1969 to 1971, Fletcher "had redefined and enforced affirmative action and become a national figure." "Politically, however"—and this is a dangling-on-the-edge-of-a-cliff use of the word *however*—"his utility to Nixon and the Republican Party was to support a very important lie the party was telling the nation: that it still stood for racial equality. By allowing Fletcher to enforce the Philadelphia Plan—within limits—the Nixon administration could say that it was continuing and expanding the civil rights initiatives of the previous administration even as it was actually curtailing civil rights policies in other areas" (p. 161).

Golland interlaces the biography with scenes from the fierce battle for the soul of the party waged between its conservative and liberal wings. And while the history of conservative ascendancy is by now well-trod territory, with a number of excellent

studies on what that transformation meant for African Americans, Golland adds to the literature by bringing that narrative well into the 1980s and 1990s.

Described by Golland as “loyal to a fault,” Fletcher’s Job-like belief in the party of Abraham Lincoln is stunning (p. 163). The second half of this well-researched book follows Fletcher’s struggles to return the party to the principles of racial egalitarianism, to stop the steep decline in the percentage of the black vote garnered by Republicans, and, especially as the chair of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights under President George H. W. Bush, to encourage a healthy pattern of collaboration between African American leaders and the GOP on issues of mutual interest. None of these efforts were terribly successful. By the 1990s the GOP could barely claim more than 10 percent of the national black electorate. Healthy collaborations between liberals and conservatives have become vanishingly rare, and American politics overall has suffered with African Americans relegated to one-party voters.

In a dramatic shift, new black conservatives who did take prominent roles in Republican administrations in the 1980s and 1990s were required to denounce affirmative action as a veritable job qualification. Thus, Fletcher became the last Republican, black or white, to defend the initiatives he helped create and was relegated to the status of the most important Republican civil rights activist of whom many people have never heard. He realized too late that the party had left him behind; too much of American history has left him out.

University of Michigan

ANGELA D. DILLARD

The Last Orator for the Millhands: William Jennings Bryan Dorn, 1916–2005.

By John Herbert Roper Sr. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2019. Pp. xii, 443. \$40.00, ISBN 978-0-88146-690-4.)

This meticulous biography, *The Last Orator for the Millhands: William Jennings Bryan Dorn, 1916–2005*, provides an intricate journey into South Carolina politics, particularly the post–World War II period. The book immerses readers in the negotiations and political compromises of William Jennings Bryan Dorn’s campaigning and legislative bargaining. The challenges of Jim Crow and questions about women’s roles have their place, but stories focus on Dorn, his political career, his family, and his colleagues. John Herbert Roper Sr. presents Dorn as “of the people” and not simply with them (p. 9). He argues for the relevance and liberalism of Dorn, a dedicated if flawed man who sought to represent working people, like millhands and small farmers, in the halls of government while advancing his inadequate vision of progress.

In chapters 1 and 2, Roper examines the roots of Dorn’s religious faith, his worldview, and his political savvy in the red hills of western South Carolina. The bulk of the biography, chapters 3–10, plunges through Dorn’s peak years as a state and congressional politician from 1945 to 1973. Chapters 8–10 give readers a view of committee negotiations and maneuverings on trade, business development, and military appropriations during the tumultuous 1960s. Dorn’s final years in the United States Congress and his runs for South Carolina governor in 1974 and 1978 appear in chapter 11. The postlude offers Roper’s assessment of this long political career. Using Dorn’s memoirs, interviews with members of his inner circle, South Carolina political collections, and the papers

of other politicians, this biography describes personal decisions and family contributions as well as public campaigns and legislative issues.

Roper sets out to rehabilitate Dorn, and by extension the millhands of the Piedmont, without denying the existence of Jim Crow. While the acknowledgment of segregation does not slide into apologia, Roper avoids analysis of its impact on black communities. He centers white responses to Jim Crow, from strict enforcement to uncomfortable tolerance, with Dorn falling into the latter category. Roper also highlights Dorn's evangelical faith and dedication to the military while emphasizing his support of desegregation, employment opportunities for women, and public education, including the teaching of evolutionary science.

Roper has made a decision to use official and formal primary sources, and secondary sources include other political biographies. The bibliography does not reference oral history collections from working people, papers from civil rights or black church groups, or interviews with average voters who supported Dorn. Considering Dorn's career, these sources most likely contain comments about him and the Democratic Party in South Carolina.

For people with an interest in southern politics or South Carolina history, *The Last Orator for the Millhands* gives a close-up view of personalities along with connections to national events like the Fair Deal and Great Society. In an American studies course on the South, the book could serve as an exemplar of traditional biography. An undergraduate course on postwar industry and trade could pair excerpts from chapters 6–10 with books like Ellen Israel Rosen's *Making Sweatshops: The Globalization of the U.S. Apparel Industry* (Berkeley, 2002) and Timothy J. Minchin's *Empty Mills: The Fight Against Imports and the Decline of the U.S. Textile Industry* (Lanham, Md., 2013), which trace United States trade and quota policy in the second half of the twentieth century. That would set Dorn's activities in a national history of global trade, manufacturing, and financialization.

The Last Orator for the Millhands stands in contrast to southern labor or working-class history. The title denotes Dorn and not the working people—as such it does not explore millhands' communities, daily lives, or labor activism. In books like Michael K. Honey's *Black Workers Remember: An Oral History of Segregation, Unionism, and the Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley, 1999), Jacquelyn Dowd Hall and her colleagues' *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (Chapel Hill, 1987), and Victoria Byerly's *Hard Times Cotton Mill Girls: Personal Histories of Womanhood and Poverty in the South* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986), the millhands speak. Roper's biography tells history from a different vantage, but through Dorn's life it seeks to celebrate the red hills society he represented.

Smith College

AIMEE LOISELLE

The Meanest Man in Congress: Jack Brooks and the Making of an American Century. By Brendan McNulty and Tim McNulty. (Montgomery, Ala.: NewSouth Books, 2019. Pp. xviii, 556. \$32.95, ISBN 978-1-58838-321-1.)

Using the personal archives of Representative Jack Brooks, Democrat of Texas, Brandon McNulty and Tim McNulty have written an interesting and important biography of an influential yet little-known member of Congress. Brooks was first elected to Congress in 1952 and represented southeastern Texas

until his defeat in 1994. Brooks's career epitomized what Kenneth A. Shepsle describes as the "Textbook Congress," where committees and their chairs were powerful actors but congressional leaders exercised less direct control over the House of Representatives ("The Changing Textbook Congress," in John E. Chubb and Paul E. Peterson, eds., *Can the Government Govern?* [Washington, D.C., 1989], pp. 238–66). Brooks's career unfolded against broader changes occurring in party politics that culminated in the realignment of white conservatives in the South that eventually cost Brooks his seat in Congress and that continues to affect American politics today.

The career of Jack Brooks vividly illustrates the central role of the legislative branch in the American system of separated institutions sharing powers. Members of Congress are both representatives and lawmakers. Brooks embraced both roles during his long congressional career as he directed benefits to his congressional district while playing a critical role shaping public policies and challenging presidents of both parties. Like Lyndon B. Johnson, Brooks quickly figured out how to build relationships by figuring out what other members needed, and he learned the critical art of bargaining and compromise essential in a collective body.

Political entrepreneurship is vital, as members decide how to allocate their resources and build relationships allowing them to exercise influence over public policies, and Brooks excelled at this part of the legislative game. Especially between 1973 and 1994, Brooks was one of the most effective members of the House of Representatives, often outperforming his expected legislative effectiveness and routinely ranking among the most effective Democrats. He aggressively championed consumer rights and often challenged corporations to change their policies; he was a pivotal figure in high-profile investigations such as Watergate and Iran-Contra, but Brooks was also the driving force promoting the adoption of computers in Congress so that the legislative branch could perform its work more efficiently.

Using NOMINATE data, we can see that Brooks routinely remained more liberal than two-thirds of the Democratic caucus throughout his career, even as the political environment was beginning to change around him. Brooks was a liberal Democrat, and a loyal Democrat, who often supported his party 90 percent of the time. Brooks worked with the party leadership, especially Sam Rayburn, when it would be beneficial, but he was not afraid to buck party leaders when it was in the best interests of his district. Today a centralized and powerful leadership directs much of the activity in the House of Representatives.

Ultimately, the changing political environment of Texas caught up with Brooks, as he lost his 1994 reelection campaign. After the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, white southerners began leaving the Democratic Party, and the 1970s was marked by high levels of split-ticket voting. As voters aligned their ideological and partisan preferences, the Republican Party replaced the Democratic Party as the dominant political party in the South, which contributed to increasing political polarization in the United States. Brooks remained a staunch liberal, but like other white Democrats representing rural areas of the South, his kind would become extinct.

Change is constant in American politics, and the biography of Representative Jack Brooks illustrates important changes in our nation. Brooks's career spanned a period that may prove to have been an anomaly rather than the norm in American political history, characterized by substantive lawmaking instead of message politics (see Frances E. Lee, *Insecure Majorities: Congress and the Perpetual Campaign* [Chicago, 2016]). For people concerned about the separation of powers, the story of Jack Brooks is a powerful example of what can happen when members of Congress vigorously protect their institutional prerogatives.

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CRAIG GOODMAN

Copper Stain: ASARCO's Legacy in El Paso. By Elaine Hampton and Cynthia C. Ontiveros. *The Environment in Modern North America.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019. Pp. viii, 189. \$29.99, ISBN 978-0-8061-6177-8.)

Discussions of the toxic legacy of mining usually center on issues like acid mine drainage, the polluted pits left behind from strip mining, or the ailments afflicting underground miners, but the social and environmental costs of mining go well beyond the initial excavation. Digging ore out of the ground is only the first step in the process. Extracted ore is milled and finally smelted in gargantuan furnaces where the refined ore is heated to thousands of degrees and reduced to an almost pure product. Gold, silver, and copper, among others, were processed this way, and long after nearly all the mines in the American West closed, the ASARCO smelter at El Paso, Texas, continued processing ores from around the world, closing finally in 1999 when the global price of copper crashed.

The original owner of the smelter complex in El Paso was the American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO), the preeminent smelting corporation in the United States from the late nineteenth century onward. The smelter, however, dated to 1887, when Robert Safford Towne purchased 1,156 acres for \$3,757 on the banks of the Rio Grande just outside El Paso. The smelter's smokestack spewed smoke and particulates across the city and into neighboring Juarez, Mexico. In 1951 a taller smokestack was built, reaching over 610 feet, and finally in 1967 an imposing 828-foot tower was completed. Over time, as more and more buildings, including the houses of the smelter's workers, congregated around the complex, the smelter was no longer outside the city. Despite the increasingly taller smokestacks, toxic smoke, containing trace amounts of heavy metals like lead and sulfur dioxide, rained down on surrounding neighborhoods. The worst place to be, however, was inside the smelter. Workers "dangled over the furnaces breathing the fumes as they fed loads of toxic product into the furnace. . . . They had to climb into flues, pipes, and ovens where the toxic soot, acidic gases, and intense heat pelted them. They scooped toxic mud out of those tubes" (pp. 82–83). Decades of exposure, the authors contend, ruined the health of generations of workers and people in the neighborhood.

The authors, Elaine Hampton and Cynthia C. Ontiveros, began this project from an interest in local history and a desire to see justice done for the former workers and the neighboring communities on both sides of the border. What

they chronicle is not surprising, but it is certainly infuriating: a powerful corporation, generating tax revenue and supporting hundreds of jobs, had decades of *carte blanche* to pollute and exploit their workers. Even state and federal regulators, the authors contend, aided in these practices, and profit margins proved more important than the health of the largely Mexican and Mexican American workers and residents. ASARCO left after the plant was decommissioned in 2009, and the smokestacks were torn down in 2013. The smelting industry, as the authors point out, has largely vanished from American soil, with the majority of active smelters currently operating in China. While all signs of the old El Paso smelter are gone, its legacy remains in the soil of the city and in the bodies of the workers. The former employees of the smelter and the city of El Paso will struggle with “contamination, illness, and early death” for decades to come (p. 138). *Copper Stain: ASARCO’s Legacy in El Paso* is a courageous book about the struggle of an even more courageous group of former employees and social justice activists.

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JASON E. PIERCE

Reclaiming the Black Past: The Use and Misuse of African American History in the Twenty-First Century. By Pero Gaglo Dagbovie. (London and New York: Verso, 2018. Pp. xiv, 224. \$26.95, ISBN 978-1-78663-203-6.)

In this study, Pero Gaglo Dagbovie explores how “spokespersons and public figures outside of the ranks of professionally trained historians” have “at least as much (if not more) influence on the general public’s impressions of black history than the vast majority of historians of the black past do” (p. xii). Dagbovie argues that these influencers have huge sway in shaping current discourses around the black past.

The opening chapter evaluates President Barack H. Obama and how he “interpreted, portrayed, sampled from, and even manipulated African American history,” tactics the author claims have been largely ignored by scholars (p. 5). Dagbovie traces the evolution of Obama’s “calculated” rhetoric, pointing out how his manner of addressing black history made him a master at “style-shifting” (pp. xiii, 15). These switches often resulted in Obama rendering a benign treatment of black history to white people and an often scolding account to black people.

Obama’s strategic rhetoric is also part of Dagbovie’s argument in chapter 2. Here, the author presents how long-standing debates regarding the relevance and longevity of Black History Month appear in contemporary conversations. As Dagbovie rightly contends, current discussions join ongoing conversations that originated with Negro History Week. The push to extend the week to a longer observance is rooted in the Black Power era, when activists saw Negro History Week as an opportunity for a temporal acknowledgment of black Americans’ contributions and for a formal inclusion of these accomplishments in American history. Opponents disagreed with elevating past achievements and favored honoring “‘living black history’” (p. 58). Dagbovie contends that a focus on the present informs current efforts to promote the future—a push known as Black Futures Month.

In chapter 3, Dagbovie analyzes how certain commercially successful films have rendered aspects of the black experience. For example, he rightly critiques the failure of the film *The Help* (2011) to explore the real danger of sexual assault and other forms of harassment experienced by black domestic workers, and Dagbovie offers insight into the criticism given to *Django Unchained* (2012) by its director's claim that the tale is more a hero story than an effort to fully engage slave experiences. Dagbovie concludes, "Those who teach American and African American history must be aware of how the US motion picture industry interprets the past because . . . many of their students will shape what they think they know about the past based upon these portrayals" (p. 113).

Fictive interpretations of the past also inform the work of black comedians. In chapter 4, Dagbovie discusses black humor and the ways in which African American "jokesters" use humor as both a coping mechanism and a vehicle for social commentary (p. xiii). He credits Paul Mooney for routinely incorporating moments "when blacks overcame unimaginable forms of oppression" to both entertain and educate his viewers (p. 121). This commitment to telling "'truth in jest'" is the approach taken by Mooney's successors, namely, Dave Chappelle. Chappelle's parodies of slavery and the civil rights movement afforded him critical acclaim. The chapter also discusses the work of Martin Lawrence, Chris Rock, Kevin Hart, and others who use humor as a tool for analyzing black experiences.

In chapter 5, Dagbovie explores how past wrongdoings committed against African Americans have been addressed by politicians and the United States government. The chapter contextualizes official apologies related to African American history and notes that attempts by lawmakers to offer them have been rife with contention. Although skeptics believed apologizing for slavery and racial discrimination "would have constituted an admission of guilt and could have been used as fuel for the reparations movement," Dagbovie notes that politicians have apologized for specific acts (like the Tuskegee syphilis experiment), have granted posthumous pardons for black people unjustly punished, have advocated for legislation honoring victims (such as the Emmett Till Unsolved Civil Rights Crime Act of 2008), and even passed House Resolution 194 in 2008, which apologized "'for the wrongs committed against them [African Americans] and their ancestors who suffered under slavery and Jim Crow'" (pp. 165, 180–81). Unfortunately, these acts of contrition have not been accompanied by intentional means of fostering honest dialogue and true reconciliation. Absent this essential next step, apologies remain more symbolic than real.

All in all, *Reclaiming the Black Past: The Use and Misuse of African American History in the Twenty-First Century* does important work. It brings to the fore not only how black history is represented but also who is relied on for this representation. Scholars of many fields will benefit (and undoubtedly build on) Dagbovie's work for years to come.

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